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HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

DISCOVERIES AND TRAVELS

IN

NORTH AMERICA;

INCLUDING

THE UNITED STATES, CANADA, THE SHORES OF THE POLAR SEA, AND THE VOYAGES IN SEARCH OF A NORTH-WEST PASSAGE;

WITH

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OBSERVATIONS ON EMIGRATION.

BY HUGH MURRAY, ESQ., F.R.S.E.,
Author of Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Africa, Asia, &c.

Illustrated by a Map of North America.

VOL. I.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Historical Account of Discoveries in North America, including a View of the Actual State of that Continent, is on the same plan with the former works of the Author on *Discoveries in Africa* and in Asia. These works having been favourably received, he has been led to believe that the present one might be equally acceptable to those readers who take an interest in the progress of geographical discovery and the present state of the world.

The series of bold adventure by which the coasts of North America were discovered and its colonies founded; the daring attempts to find a Northern Passage by its arctic shores; the unparalleled growth and extending power of the United States; with the openings which America affords to our emigrant population,—all these circumstances conspire to render that continent an object of peculiar interest.

In regard to the execution of these volumes, the Author has only to say, that neither research nor exertion has been spared, in order that they may merit, in at least an equal degree, that measure of public approbation which was bestowed on those similar works by which they have been preceded.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

INTRODUCTION, ... 1

CHAPTER I.—ON SUPPOSED EARLY DISCOVERIES OF AMERICA.

General Statement of the Question, 5.—Absence of authentic Records, 6.—Probabilities, 7.—Mode of ancient Navigation, *ib.*—Different Modes in which Vessels might have reached America, 10.—The Carthaginians, the Saracens, 11.—The Welsh under Madoc, 12.—The Scandinavians, 13.—Voyages to Vinland, 14.—Eric, Leif, Thorvald, Thorfin, &c., 15.—Vinland not America, 19.—What Country Vinland is, 21.—Voyages of the Zeni, 28.—Estotiland, 30.—Estotiland not America, 32.—What Country Estotiland is, 33.

CHAP. II.—ON THE ORIGIN OF THE INHABITANTS OF AMERICA.

General Statement of the Question, 37.—Whether all Men were derived from one Original, 38.—Arguments for this Opinion, 39.—Action of the Sun on the Human Skin, 41.—Form and Colour of the Americans, 44.—Various Causes affecting it, 46.—White Nations in America, 49.—Various Theories respecting the Peopling of America, 51.—Imagined Resem-

blance between the Americans and Jews, 52.—Acosta, 53.—Grotius, 54.—Probable Quarter whence America was peopled, 54.—Question whether Colonists might come from any other Quarter, 55.—Supposed Resemblances between the Languages of America and those of the other Continents, 57.

BOOK I.

DISCOVERY AND COLONIZATION OF NORTH AMERICA.

CHAP. I.—EARLY VOYAGES TO THE AMERICAN COAST.

Discovery of North America, 61.—John and Sebastian Cabot, 62.—Various Accounts of their Voyage, 65.—Ponce de Leon, Discovery of Florida, 71.—Verazzani, his Voyages along the American Coast, 74.—His Tragical Fate, 80.—Cartier, 81.—Discovers the Gulf of St Lawrence, 84.—Montreal, 87.—Roberval, 89.

CHAP. II.—SPANISH EXPEDITIONS INTO FLORIDA.

Florida becomes known as Part of the Continent, 91.—Expedition of Pamphilo Narvaez, 92.—War with the Indians, 97.—Various Adventures, 101.—Alvaro Nunez reaches the Gulf of Mexico, 114.—Expedition of Fernando de Soto, 115.—Various Countries through which he passes, 117.—His Return, 154.—His Death, 155.

CHAP. III.—FRENCH EXPEDITIONS INTO FLORIDA.

Expedition of Ribaut, 162.—Of Laudonniere, 164.—Of Menendez, 166.—Dreadful Catastrophe, 169.—Expedition of De Gourgues, 173.—His Success, 175.—Return to France, 176.

CHAP. IV.—Discovery and Settlement of Virginia.

Rise of Maritime Enterprise in England, 178.—Sir Humphrey Gilbert, 180.—His Arrival at Newfoundland, 184.—Fate of his Expedition, 187.—Sir Walter Raleigh, 192.—Sends an Expedition under Amadas and Barlow, 193.—Sir Richard Greenville, 196.—Lane, 197.—White, 202.—Gosnold, 205.—Captain John Smith, 208.—His Voyages and Adventures, 211.—The Princess Pocahuntas, 215.—Progress of the Settlements, 223.—Conflicts with the Indians, 228.—View of the Government, Religion, &c. of the Native Indians, 230.

CHAP. V.—Discovery and Settlement of New England.

First Discovery by Gosnold, 236.—*Voyage of Challons*, 237.—Captain John Smith, 239.—Unsuccessful Attempts, 241.—Religious Persecution in England, 243.—The Brownists, 245.—Their Colony at New Plymouth, 246.—Persecution of the Puritans, 247.—Numerous Emigrations, 248.—Settlement of Salem and Boston, 249.—First Arrangements of the Colony, 254.—Schism occasioned by Williams, 259.—The Red Cross, *ib.*—Rise of the Antinomian Sect, 260.—Mrs Hutchinson, 261.—Violent Ferment in the Colony, 265.—Proceedings against the Antinomians, 268.—The Anabaptists, 276.—The Quakers, 278.—Accounts of their Conduct, 279.—Violent Proceedings against them, 284.—Invasion of the Colonial Charter, 289.—Andros Governor, 290.—Revolution of 1688, 292.—Alarm about Witchcraft, 293.—Trials, 296.—Singular Confessions, 297.—Dreadful State of the Colony, 306.—Close of the Proceedings, 309.—The Native Indians, 311.—Dreadful Wars with them, 313.—Measures taken for their Conversion, 316.

CHAP. VI.—Settlement of the other Colonies.

Secondary States of New England, 322.—Connecticut, 322.

Rhode Island, 326.—New Hampshire, 327.—New York, settled by the Dutch, 329.—Transference to England, 331.—Maryland, 337.—Carolina, 340.—Its Constitutions, 342.—Various Vicissitudes, 344.—Georgia, 348.—Pennsylvania, 351.—Account of Penn, 352.—Treaty with the Indians, 355.—Its rapid Increase, 357.

CHAP. VII.—SETTLEMENT OF THE FRENCH IN CANADA AND LOUISIANA.

Plan of Colonizing Canada, 360.—La Roche, 362.—Disastrous Issue, 363.—De Monts, 364.—Champlain, 365.—Marquette and Jolyet, 372.—La Salle, 378.—His Death, 393.—Hennepin, *ib.*—Lahontan, 402.—Charlevoix, 404.

CHAP. VIII.—THE AMERICAN INDIANS.

Views of Savage Life, 405.—The Five Nations, 407.—Form of Policy, 408.—War, 409.—Declaration, 413.—March, 414.—Surprise, 415.—Return, 416.—Treatment of Captives, 417.—Negotiations, 419.—Religious Belief and Observances, 420.—Arts, 428.—Amusements, Music, Dancing, 430.—Domestic Life, 431.—General Decline and Disappearance of these Tribes, 435.—Its Causes, 436.

CHAP. IX.—AMERICA BEFORE AND AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

General Progress of the Colonies, 437.—Comparative State before and after the Revolution, 438.—Kalm, Burnaby, Smith, Chastellux, Rochefoucault, 440.—Progress of Agriculture, 441.—Of Commerce, 446.—Society and Manners, 447.—Imbittered Hostility of the two Parties, 453.

CHAP. X.—SETTLEMENT OF THE WESTERN TERRITORY.

Difficulties of crossing the Alleghany, Daniel Boon, 458.—

Kentucky, 460.—Henderson, 461.—Smith, 463.—Dreadful Wars with the Indians, 465.—Settlement and Progress of Kentucky and Tennessee, 467.—Of Ohio, 469.—Indiana, 473. —Illinois, Michigan, 474.—Mississippi, 475.—Alabama, 476.

CHAP. XI.—Discoveries in the Regions beyond the Mississippi.

Acquisition of Louisiana, 477.—Claim on the Countries West of the Mississippi, 478.—Expeditions sent to explore them, *ib.* —Pike to the Head of the Mississippi, 479.—To the Head of the Arkansaws, 483.—His Disasters, 486.—Return, 487.— Expedition of Lewis and Clarke, 488.—They cross the Rocky Mountains, 497.—Reach the Pacific, 506.—Long and James to the South of the Missouri, 510.—Cass and Schoolcraft up the Mississippi, 517.—Long and Keating to St Peter's River and the Lake of the Woods, 520.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

DISCOVERIES AND TRAVELS

IN

NORTH AMERICA.

INTRODUCTION.

AMERICA, of the three quarters of the world that lie beyond the limits of Europe, possesses the strongest claim upon the attention of the nations of that continent. It has had the most powerful influence in calling forth their energies, and modifying their destiny. The moment, in which that mysterious veil was lifted up, which had so long covered from their eyes this other half of the world which they inhabited, was the most memorable in their annals. It was a moment mighty in itself, and big with a long train of event and adventure. America was every way a different world from that to which the eyes of its discoverers had been familiar. Nature appeared in savage and primeval grandeur, without a trace of those arrangements of art and culture, which give to Europe its form and aspect. The eternal forest, not planted by human hand, covered almost its entire surface. Every feature existed on a bold and

sublime scale. The mountains were more extended, more lofty, and subject to volcanic action more terrible, than any yet known to exist in the old world. Rivers, rolling across the entire breadth of the continents, held a course so immense, and poured such a profusion of waters, that streams which appeared great in Europe ranked here only as creeks or rivulets. Man in America was a still more singular object than the region which he occupied. The man of nature was seen ranging through his primeval forests, a stranger to art, to science, to even the rudest forms of social existence. Even in the few favoured regions where civilization had already begun her career, it had taken a direction, and assumed forms, essentially different from those which the old world any where exhibited.

As the new world thus presented so many objects calculated to arrest the attention and enlarge the ideas of its visitants, it afforded also peculiar excitements to their energy and enterprise. Being found thinly peopled by savage, and, as compared to their invaders, defenceless tribes, the discovering nations established among themselves, certainly an iniquitous law, by which every part of America was held to belong to the European by whom it was first discovered and occupied. The early prizes were singularly brilliant. Private individuals, often of humble birth, made the conquest of empires, whose treasures eclipsed even the boasted wealth of the East. As kingdom after kingdom opened to the view, the sanguine hope was always excited, that a new adventurer would arrive at something still more splendid

than had rewarded the search of his predecessors. Although these hopes proved ultimately illusory and even disastrous, yet they impelled to high exertions, and developed great characters, for the display of which America became one of the grand modern theatres.

Through the agency of these causes, in the course of a few centuries, a new form has been impressed on the whole of the western continent. It has been filled with European colonists, before whom the natives have disappeared, or sought shelter in its ruder and remoter tracts. The native race of wandering savages has been succeeded by another, the most civilized and improved on the globe. This new race, by transporting into America the arts and industry of Europe, fit its immense surface to yield a mass of subsistence, and to support a population, incalculably greater than was formerly possible, or than yet exists. Its people are, therefore, in that state of rapid increase which always ensues when the means of subsistence are ample. There is every presumption, that, in a very few centuries, the whole of the western world will be as highly peopled as Europe. America will then be the most powerful and flourishing portion of the globe; and the arts and improvements of life, transported from Europe, will be carried, perhaps, to higher perfection than they have ever attained in their parent region. At present, America, growing with such rapidity, presents the spectacle of constant and cheerful change;—new countries rising, new cities founding, desert after desert converted into the abode of culture and habitation.

Before beginning to trace the progress of American discovery, two preliminary questions arise, which have excited the natural curiosity and interest of the modern world:—Was America known in any degree, or through any channel, before the days of Columbus?—and what was the origin of the nations by whom it was found inhabited, thinly indeed, but throughout its whole extent? The questions are closely connected, and have generally been treated in combination; but as they are materially different, we shall here endeavour successively to collect the means of forming a judgment relative to each.

CHAPTER I.

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General Statement of the Question.—Absence of authentic Records.—Probabilities.—Mode of ancient Navigation.—Different Modes in which Vessels might have reached America.—The Carthaginians.—The Saracens.—The Welsh under Madoc.—The Scandinavians.—Voyages to Vinland—Eric, Leif, Thorvald, Thorfin, &c.—Vinland not America.—What Country Vinland is.—Voyages of the Zeni.—Estotiland.—Drogio.—Icaria.—Estotiland not America.—What Country Estotiland was.

It occurs at once as a curious and interesting question, whether the ancients, who made such researches into all the kingdoms of nature, and from whom we derive the principles of almost every other knowledge, remained in profound and perpetual ignorance of that vast portion of the globe which lay beyond the Atlantic? Did no Greek or Phenician navigator ever venture across that formidable gulf?—Did they never for a moment succeed in lifting that awful veil, which covered from their view the vast world of the West?

Upon this subject volumes have been written, the

authors of which have made an immense display of erudition. They have ransacked the records of every naval state in antiquity, to examine whether they have or have not undertaken this grand expedition. These discussions have served no purpose but that for which, perhaps, they were mainly intended,—of displaying the erudition of their authors. They have all been obliged to begin and end with the simple fact, that the records of antiquity contain upon this subject absolutely nothing. There are distinct notices of voyages undertaken along the eastern and western coasts of Africa, the southern of Asia, and the northern of Europe; but there is not the faintest rumour of one who directed his daring keel into the vast abysses of ocean. In the total absence of historical document, we have left only a calculation of probabilities. Was it or was it not probable that some one vessel belonging to the great maritime Mediterranean states should make its way across the Atlantic? If we listen to some speculators, nothing could be less difficult. To a learned professor, seated at ease in his elbow-chair, and looking at the space which the Atlantic occupies on a sheet-map of the world, the crossing of it appears no very vast achievement. Very different is the lot of the mariner, who, without guide or compass, amid the peril of tempest and famine, must make his way across the space which it really occupies on the surface of the globe.

Let us grapple closely with the subject. There were only two modes in which America could have been discovered. Either an adventurer, like Columbus, must have undertaken a voyage for that express

purpose, or a vessel sailing along the western coasts of Europe must have been driven by tempest upon the shores of the new world. Let us attempt to weigh the probabilities in either case.

Is it likely that any voyage was undertaken and achieved by the ancients for the discovery of America? Of this idea a strong refutation is certainly afforded simply by the profound silence of antiquity. Doubtless its naval records, when compared with the modern, are very scanty. Yet enough transpires to show that deep interest was excited, and reiterated efforts made, for the exploration of all the unknown shores of the three continents. Eudoxus, Sataspes, and Hanno, are celebrated by their attempts to navigate the eastern and western coasts of Africa; Himilco and Pytheas examined the western and northern shores of Europe; while Nearchus was sent by Alexander to traverse the southern shores of Asia. But there is not the least hint as if a wish or idea had ever arisen, to inquire into the secrets of the Atlantic deep. Such a conception was indeed altogether foreign to the genius of ancient navigation. The vessels were constructed and equipped solely with reference to coasting voyages. The oar was the main instrument in producing the movement even of the largest vessels, which were only distinguished by the numbers and successive benches of oars. Being thus in the constant proximity of the coast, they were not in the habit of carrying either provisions or water for the whole voyage, but trusted to obtaining them on land at short intervals. Even the fleet of Nearchus, equipped by Alexander with all

the resources which Asia could furnish, could not keep the sea for a week, without landing and obtaining supplies by the most violent means. All the exploratory voyages, therefore, which appear to have been anciently attempted, or even conceived, were along coasts, and never had for their object to fathom the depths of an unknown ocean. Unreal terrors probably guarded that vast expanse which terminated all the western shores of Europe and Africa; and the idea seems to have prevailed, that on this side lay the dark boundaries of the universe.

It may be said, however, that though the Greeks and Romans were not likely to undertake the voyage to America, it lay fairer for the Carthaginians, a much greater maritime people, and who had extensive possessions and commerce beyond the Straits. The deep and studied mystery which that people threw over their naval transactions, may have shrouded for ever the knowledge of such an event from the classic writers of Greece and Rome. Nothing, however, either in the nautical system of the Carthaginians, or in the structure of their vessels, appears to have materially differed from the forms common to antiquity. Amid all the depth of that veil which they threw over their naval operations, some voyages of discovery, and even one entire narrative, have made their way; but not the least hint appears as if they had ever conceived the idea of penetrating across the ocean. All their enterprises recorded seem to have been undertaken with a view to commerce rather than curiosity; and in that early state of navigation, a route which led

across a thousand miles of open sea would not have been considered by them as a naval route.

It must not be concealed, that one, and only one, path across an ocean appears to have been traced in antiquity. This was effected by the Alexandrians, in the most advanced state of their skill and enterprise, under the Roman empire. They then traced a line across the Indian ocean from the mouth of the Red Sea to the coast of Malabar. The voyage was performed under the influence of a favouring monsoon, which rendered it secure and prosperous. It was not at all by this route, however, that the Indian coast was discovered. The circuitous voyage along the coasts of Arabia and Persia had been followed for ages, ere some daring sail adventured to strike across to a coast, of which the situation was already well known, and which was of such a great and continuous extent, that the navigator could not fail of arriving upon some one of its portions.

To perceive all the improbability that the discovery of America should ever have been made by the ancients, we have only to consider the magnitude of the efforts which it cost to Columbus, with the use of the compass, and under a greatly-improved system of navigation. After the resources furnished by the most powerful monarch in Europe, joined to his own almost superhuman fortitude and enthusiasm, his undertaking met every thing short of failure. What then would have been expected from any expedition fitted out under antique auspices? But there was, I think, every ground to believe that no such expedition was ever undertaken. The ardent ima-

gination of the Greeks was so strongly acted upon by every thing which bore a sublime and adventurous aspect, that an enterprise of so much bolder and more peculiar a character, than any of those of which the fame spread so wide, could scarcely have existed, without penetrating to them, through every veil which distance and mystery could draw across it.

There is another hypothesis, according to which vessels may have been reluctantly driven upon the shores of the new world. On this subject it is observable, that the distance from any part of the coasts of France and Spain to America would seldom fall short of two thousand miles. I cannot forbear remarking, that these monstrous aberrations occasioned by tempest, which occur so frequently in the writings of maritime theorists, are excessively rare, if they exist at all, in real navigation. Although the number of ships passing along the western coasts of Europe exceeds now, perhaps, a hundred times what it anciently was, has it ever been known that a vessel sailing between a port of Spain, France, or Ireland, found itself landed on the coast of Virginia? Let us take the much more limited space of the German ocean. I really am not aware if there ever was an instance in which a ship sailing along the somewhat rough eastern coast of England and Scotland was obliged to put into a port of Denmark or Norway. The mariner, driven before an adverse wind, takes down every sail, opposes every obstacle, avails himself of every interval to regain his course; and it seldom happens, that a wind of extreme violence blows many days in the same direction. The ancient

vessels, from causes already observed, were singularly ill prepared for such a fearful extent of enforced navigation. The scanty stock of provisions and water with which they were furnished, rendered it impossible for them to be long distant from land, without being reduced to the most dreadful extremities. When we consider that their reluctant progress westward would at least be retarded by their continual efforts to return, it seems inevitable that they would either regain their destined course or perish. Supposing that they did reach America, nearly equal obstacles would occur to their ever returning; and, on the whole, it seems still more improbable that this than the former process should have led to the discovery of the transatlantic continent.

The Arab or Saracen conquerors, who for several ages were the most civilized and enterprising of the old continent, had been bred in the interior of the Asiatic continent, and never acquired much of maritime habits. The idea of the termination of ocean in darkness, which had only floated in the minds of the Greeks and Romans, was formed by them into a regular creed. The whole circuit of the bounding ocean of the earth appears in their maps under the appellation of the "Sea of Darkness." A region to which such a name and idea were affixed was not likely to invite the course, even of enterprising navigators. There is, however, the record of a voyage westward from Lisbon while that city was under the dominion of the Saracens. It was performed by two brothers, of the name of Almagrurim, and led to the discovery of some islands at a considerable dis-

tance in the West. But Hartmann, in his edition of Edrisi, seems to have clearly proved that these were the Azores only, and not any portion of the West Indies.

The Welsh have a tradition of some celebrity, in virtue of which they claim the discovery of the western world.* Amid certain dissensions which distracted the royal family of North Wales, Madoc, one of its members, fitted out, in 1170, several vessels, and set sail in quest of maritime adventure. Proceeding to the westward, after a long navigation, he arrived at a "faire and large country," in which many wonderful things were beheld. After leaving there the greater part of his companions, he returned to Wales, and prevailed on a number of his kindred and acquaintances to accompany him in a second expedition, which consisted of ten sail. Here authentic tradition stops, though various other tales were circulated among the people of the country.* The narrative is so meagre, that it is difficult to found any conclusion, unless upon the probability of the event, which, assuredly, is very slender. These easy and comfortable trips across the vast Atlantic have nothing which can suggest to our minds the Welsh navigation of the twelfth century. The little that is said of the direction is far from pointing precisely at America; "he sailed west, *leaving Ireland so far north* that he came," &c. Here it is clearly implied, that the main direction beyond Ireland was south. The country at which he arrived was

* Hackluyt, iii. 1. Powell's History of Wales, p. 196, &c.

then most probably Spain; the reaching of which, across the bay of Biscay, was in that age no inconsiderable achievement of a young Cymric chieftain. As for the tribes found in the interior of America speaking purer Welsh than is spoken in Wales itself, I shall leave M. Humboldt to deal with them, finding nothing to add to his judicious observations on that subject.*

But, if these discoveries are fanciful or fabulous, there is one, it is said, which can no longer admit of any reasonable doubt. The Northmen who settled Iceland and Greenland, sailed from the latter country to Labrador and Newfoundland, with which they had regular intercourse, and founded settlements. Some centuries after, a party of Friesland fishermen found their successors in Newfoundland, where they had built castles, founded cities, endowed libraries, and introduced all the arts of European life into a region formerly supposed to be the seat of unbroken and primeval barbarism.†

As I am about to contest the established opinion of the learned in Europe, and especially of the northern literati, upon this curious and celebrated question, the reader must excuse a somewhat greater detail than the limits of the work might perhaps otherwise have warranted. It is carried on under the disadvantage of being unacquainted with the Norse languages; but the Saga of King Olaf Tryggeson has been translated by Peringskiold, in his edition of the

* Personal Narrative, vi. 324-6.

† Forster, Discoveries in the North, b. ii. ch. 2. Malte Brun, Précis I. La Richarderie, Bibliothèque des Voyages, i. 49, &c.

Heimskringla; and Torfaeus, in his histories of Greenland and Vinland, has collected with the greatest care all the northern traditions upon the subject. As the statements by which I expect to overthrow this hypothesis will all be drawn from the writings of these its most zealous supporters, there can be no room for the suspicion of their being false or garbled.

About the end of the tenth century, the Icelanders had begun to form settlements on the opposite coast of Greenland. Biorn, a young Icelandic mariner, who had employed the summer in some distant voyages, arrived at home in the end of the season, intending to spend the winter with his father, who, however, was found to have gone across to Greenland. The enterprising and affectionate disposition of Biorn induced him to follow, though across a stormy sea which he had never before traversed. For three days the voyage was prosperous; but then the sky was overcast, a strong wind blew from the north, and they were tossed about for several days they knew not whither. At length the darkness dispersed, and, after a day's sail, they descried an unknown land covered with woods and low hills. Biorn sailed for several days along this coast, after which, the wind becoming favourable, he made his way back, and arrived at his Greenland destination.*

This adventure was no sooner reported to Leif, son of Eric Redhead, a bold and enterprising young chief,

* Torfaeus, Hist. Vinland, ch. i. Heimskringla (edit. Peringskiold), i. 328.

than he determined upon an expedition to this newly-discovered region. He set sail with thirty-five men, and, following the direction pointed out by Biorn, arrived in view of the unknown land. It was rude and rocky, with lofty mountains, whose interstices were filled with snow. This he called Helluland, or the land of rocks. He came next to a flat and wooded region, which he named Markland. Sailing still onward, and favoured by a north wind, he reached a delightful island, situated opposite to the northern coast of the continent. The soil was fertile, the ground covered with bushes which bore sweet berries, and there was a river and lake amply stored with salmon and other fish. The very grass dropped dew, sweet like honey. In this agreeable abode they spent the winter. Their retreat was one day enlivened by the arrival of a German of the name of Tyrker, leaping and dancing, in that state of extravagant gaiety which wine usually inspires. As his companions crowded round him to inquire the cause, he showed them some fruits, which, from his experience of southern countries, he knew to be grapes; whence the name of Vinland or Winland continued to be given to this newly-discovered region.*

The next adventurer was Thorwald, the brother of Leif, who, after repeated voyages, came at last to a promontory, with which he was so much delighted that he made a vow to fix his abode there. Just as the settlement was forming, however, there appeared

* Torfaeus, Vinland, ch. 2. Heimskringla, i. 335.

three little barks, covered with skins in the Greenland manner, each containing three men, who, from their diminutive size, were denominated *Skrællingers*,—"cuttings or dwarf-shoots." Sorry am I to say, that the Norse adventurers, in the most savage and wanton manner, attacked these poor creatures, and killed them all except one, who contrived to escape. They were not long, however, of reaping the fruits of this crime. As they lay buried in slumber, a voice, it is pretended, was heard calling out,—"Awake, if you wish to save your lives!" They awoke, and saw the bay covered with boats, and found clouds of arrows poured in upon them. They defended themselves with planks and boughs of trees, and, by their superior skill in fighting, succeeded in repulsing the assailants. Thorwald, however, feeling himself mortally wounded, gave instructions that he should be buried upon this promontory, so as to fulfil in some shape the vow to make it his final abode.*

Thorstein, the brother of Leif and Thorwald, not discouraged by the too-merited fate of his kinsman, fitted out another expedition, composed of twenty-five followers. He encountered a violent storm, and reached home only after being obliged to spend some time on a desert shore. The fatigue of this voyage, joined, probably, to a scorbutic affection, brought on a disease which terminated his life. As Gudrid his wife and some other friends were watching round him, the dead man rose from his bed, and predicted,

* Torf. Vinland, ch. v.

that a person from Iceland would marry Gudrid, and would migrate with her into Vinland. The reader will of course believe of this only so much as may agree with his own preconceived ideas; but it is a much more probable fact, that Thorfin, surnamed Karlsefnius, did come over from Iceland, did marry Gudrid, and with her fitted out a much larger colony than any that had heretofore sailed for that country. It consisted of three vessels, on board of which were upwards of a hundred emigrants, with furniture and cattle. They reached prosperously their destination, and very opportunely found a large whale cast ashore, which afforded ample subsistence; and they began to cut wood and construct habitations. They were soon visited by a party of Skrællingers, who seem to have had no concern whatever in the former disastrous transactions of their countrymen. These simple people were affrighted beyond measure by the lowing of the bull, an animal wholly strange to them, and, running for shelter to the cottages, were repelled with equal terror by the strange faces with which they found them occupied. However, the present visitors, wiser and more humane, invited them back, presented various articles to them unknown, and milk, which extremely delighted their palates. Weapons were prohibited articles; but one of them contrived to steal a battle-axe, with which he sportively struck one of his companions, as he had been wont with their wooden hatchets, but was seized with horror when it killed him on the spot. A friend who stood by took the axe and threw it into the sea.

Thorfin, in the course of several years, was enriched by this traffic, and returned home, where he lived in some splendour. After some time, another party resorted to Vinland, but were involved in dreadful and bloody contentions, chiefly fomented, we lament to find, by a lady of the name of Freidis; but there is little temptation to follow the colony through the dire feuds in which she involved them. In 1321, Bishop Eric, it is said, went to Vinland; but Torfaeus, instead of relating any particulars of this voyage, gives merely the genealogy of the worthy bishop,—a long roll of barbarous names, which afford no edification to the reader. Indeed, from what is elsewhere mentioned, I incline to think that this voyage was merely contemplated, and never really took place. Soon after, by some cause never fully ascertained, the communication both of Greenland and Vinland with Iceland, and the rest of the north, entirely ceased; and the coast of the former, on which considerable colonies had been settled, was lamented by Europe under the appellation of Lost Greenland.

Such is an epitome of the history of Vinland. There cannot, I think, be a question as to its being in the main authentic. Torfaeus admits that there are a number of particular discrepances in the different accounts; but this is accompanied with a general agreement, which, in his opinion, must have been produced by a special interposition of Providence, in order to preserve the memory of such remarkable events. Without being able to see any sufficient ground for Providence specially to interfere,

we readily allow that this variation of particulars, amid agreement as to essentials, tends to confirm the authenticity of the narrative, by showing that it does not emanate from any single or artificial source. Even the tincture of the fabulous and supernatural, without which the narratives could not have been those of that age, does not detract from its genuineness. In short, I agree with all the northern writers, that the voyages to Vinland were real voyages; but that Vinland was America, is a question respecting which I entertain the greatest possible doubt.

It is by examining the details of these voyages that the question must be decided. Biorn sets sail from Iceland, and three days after the tempest overtakes him. We may suppose him here about midway between Iceland and Greenland,—the distance from which to the nearest point of Labrador, or Newfoundland, cannot be reckoned at less than thirteen hundred miles. It is as if a vessel sailing from Ireland to Spain should be driven upon Newfoundland. Now, I may refer to all that was formerly said as to the doubtful occurrence, and slender probability of such enormous aberrations occasioned by tempest. There is no exact statement of the duration of the tempest, although the expressions 'some or several days'* do not suggest any very lengthened period. In the return there is something more specific. Biorn, after losing sight of the last point of the

* Aliquot dies; Torfaeus, ch. 1. Complures dies; Heimskringla, p. 328.

newly-discovered land, came, in the course of the fourth day, in view of a coast which proved to be that of Greenland; and on the evening of that day he arrived at his father's house, on Herjolfsness. I do not inquire if it be physically possible;—but can any one seriously believe, that Biorn, in his little bark, could make this voyage of twelve hundred miles in somewhat less than four days? The duration of the voyages immediately subsequent is not particularly mentioned; but the expressions employed in no case suggest any protracted or formidable voyage.* At last we come to something very positive. Karlsefnius, who fitted out an expedition on a greater scale than any preceding, sailed along the coast till he came to the cultivated extremity of West Greenland, and then, *noctem diemque (tuo degr) ultra navigantem*, he came to Helluland. From one point in Greenland to one point in Vinland he sailed *in one day and one night.* But there is no point in Greenland nearer to any point in Labrador, or Newfoundland, than seven hundred miles. This distance and this period seem to place the identity of Vinland with America beyond every range of possibility.

But it will of course be asked, If Vinland be not America,† what country is or can it possibly be?

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* Neque vero ulla itineris commemoratio facta sit donec Vinlandiam appellerent.—Mari se committebat, cum navigantibus ipsis terra ipsa se primum aperuit, quam nuper viderat Biornus. This is the whole narrative of two of these voyages. Heimskringla, i. 335.

† Torfaeus, Vinland, 50.

I think it quite evident that it is the southern part of Greenland, separated from the Greenland of the ancient Icelanders by that deep sound or bay on which all their settlements are described as situated. The fact is, that the earliest of the series of maps given by Torfaeus, constructed in 1570, gives Vinland, as forming one continuous continent with Greenland, and separated only by a deep gulf. This map was the production of Sigurdus Stephanus, reported as a person deeply versant in the antiquities of Iceland. It is the only one of the series which is constructed upon purely Icelandic materials. All the others are adjusted to the knowledge of America, and to the theory of Vinland being America. Even that of Thorlacius, in 1606, separates Vinland indeed, but only by a strait of about a hundred miles in breadth, placing it, not in the position of America, but due south from Greenland. In both maps the promontory of Herjolfsness, opposite to Iceland, where the settlements began, is represented as at once the most eastern and the most southern part of the continent to which it belonged; and this opinion is stated to have generally prevailed. To these we may add the very high antiquarian authority of Arngrim Jonas, who describes Vinland, in relation to Greenland, as "non admodum dissita,"*—an expression difficult to translate, but which implies the separation to have been so small, that the countries could scarcely be said to be separated at all.

* Specimen Historicum Islandiae, p. 154.

There are two features which may be alleged to militate against this view of the subject. Forster roundly says, that on the shortest day of winter the sun was eight hours above the horizon. He does not notice that Torfaeus in the body of his work makes it only six hours, stating that the sun rose at nine and set at three. He appends indeed a long note, to prove that he had misunderstood the expressions of the original, and that eight hours was the real time. I pretend not to judge on a point of Icelandic etymology; but, as Torfaeus frankly confesses that this new interpretation was adopted solely with a view of adjusting Vinland to the Estotiland of Zeno, and both to Newfoundland, there seems ground to suspect that the first after all was the most genuine version. Surely, at least, we may conclude, that the words are susceptible of the meaning first attached to them by this learned antiquary. One of the islands to the south of Cape Farewell, which may be that described as having a mainland to the north, and where this phenomenon was observed, would be in about 59 degrees, and would have a day not much shorter than six hours, which, from the very roundness of the number, was evidently only an approximation. There is next the term of Vinland, or the land of the Vine; but this expression, though most inapplicable to this southern point of Greenland, is scarcely more so to the opposite American coast. There is a species of grape which is found in the colder parts of America, and even in Canada, but never, that I know of, in Newfoundland or Labrador. If it could thrive there, probably it might do so in sheltered

situations in the most southern part of Greenland. But it seems more likely that one of those berries, which these northern regions yield in profusion, was mistaken by the fancy of Tyrker for the grape. A subsequent and more careful account preserved by Torfaeus describes the country as producing neither grain nor wine.*

But there is another theory which has recently obtained acceptation among the northern literati, and which would no doubt change the complexion of this question. According to Mr Eggers, whose opinion is embraced by La Richarderie† and Malte Brun,‡ all the early Greenland settlements were, not upon the eastern coast, which faces Iceland, but upon the western, which extends along Baffin's Bay, and faces America. This supposition would no doubt diminish the impossibilities above recited, though it could never solve the voyage to America (a distance nowhere less than seven hundred miles) in one day and one night. But this hypothesis is directly opposed to all Icelandic faith and tradition. By Torfaeus himself, and in all the series of maps copied by him, these settlements are placed on the eastern coast; nor does there seem to have been ever a doubt in Iceland upon the subject. The map of Zeno, who states himself to have actually visited Greenland, and whose authority the present writers are far from wishing to

* Vinland, p. 51.

† Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages, i. 46-7.

‡ Précis de la Géographie, i.

undervalue, is equally positive to the same effect. It seems, indeed, a very wild supposition, that those little barks should sail seven hundred miles along a stormy coast in search of a place of settlement, which, according to the information of Crantz and Egede, was similar and in no respect superior to that which they passed by.

The ancient belief, indeed, which makes Herjolfsness the most southern point of Greenland, may be urged in support of the opinion of Eggers; but it is accompanied with the belief that it is also the most eastern, and the conclusion, that, in that case, Greenland stretches little or nothing to the south (*parum procedit ad austrum*). But the point on which they mainly rest is the north-west course which, after coming first in view of Greenland, the vessels took in order to reach the place of settlement. That this course was followed to a certain extent admits of no doubt. That coast, when first viewed by the mariner, was rugged and precipitous, and the surrounding sea encumbered with masses of floating ice. But the sailing directions quoted by Torfaeus expressly state, that from this point the navigator had only to sail twelve Icelandic miles (60 English) till he came to the episcopal seat of Gardar. Lowenorn, sent out in 1786 to seek the lost settlements of Old Greenland, but who unluckily never read any of the works in which they are described, came in view of this rugged and perilous coast; but, instead of avoiding it by taking the south-west direction, which had been clearly pointed out, he stood always more to the north, till, being dangerously involved in ice-islands, he was

obliged to return. Lowenorn has somewhat shaken the authority of the ancient sailing directions, by disproving one leading statement, according to which there was a point in the voyage, where the mountains Snowfell in Iceland, and White-Shirt in Greenland, were seen at the same moment.* This was clearly proved to be an optical deception; fully accounted for, however, by the fact, that in sailing towards Greenland his people had an almost continued view of apparent land, which melted away as they approached. But if he had read Torfaeus's account of the country which he came to explore, he would have found that this imagined contemporaneous vision of Snaefell and Huit-Serk was not accompanied with any false estimate of the actual distance between the two coasts. Torfaeus supposes, from this middle point, the distance to each to be thirty-five German miles, making the entire distance nearly three hundred English, which agrees very exactly with Lowenorn's own estimate of eighty-six marine leagues (of twenty to a degree).†

To those who attentively consider the views which have now been given, it will manifestly appear, that the Oesterbygd and the Westerbygd, the East and West Greenland of the old Icelanders, instead of being both on the western, were both on the eastern side of this great peninsula. The Westerbygd was only seated farther in the interior of the great gulf, (called by

* Torfaeus, Grönland, 75, &c. Purchas, iii. 520.

† Lowenorn, Annales des Voyages, Septem. 1826, &c.

Arngrim Jonas *vastus sinus*) on the northern side of which appear to have been placed all the settlements of Old Greenland. This view exactly agrees with the statement of the great antiquary just named, who describes the whole of these settlements as "maximae continentis districtus, reliquæ continentis respectu *perexiguus*, in duplicem habitationem Asturbygd et Westurbygd, *i.e.* Orientalem et Occidentalem Grœnlandiam divisa,"—a part of this vast continent *very small* in comparison of the rest. Thorlacius also, though he separates Greenland from Vinland, gives to the former a long coast facing the south, on which are both the Oesterbygd and the Westerbygd, while he marks our western coast as "Grœnlandia Occidentalis *veteribus incognita*,"—West Greenland *unknown to the ancients*. Our division of East and West Greenland, therefore, is founded upon a much more extensive knowledge, and has no relation to this early distribution of the Icelandic settlements.

I cannot quit this subject without observing, that the belief, according to which a coast extending upwards of six hundred miles in direct distance, and partly situated within the temperate zone, is supposed to be bound in chains of perpetual ice, appears very gratuitous. It has come by frequent repetition to be received as an established fact, that numerous attempts have been made to discover the site of these lost colonies, but that all have been vain. But if we look narrowly into the matter, we shall find, that the attempts to reach this eastern coast have been excessively few, and those few not vain. In 1578, the king of Denmark sent Magnus Henningsen with a vessel to

search for these lost colonies. But as Captain Henningsen was approaching with a favourable gale and an open sea, the ship suddenly stopped, and could not be worked forward in the direction of Greenland. Henningsen was obliged to return; and his failure became a subject of deep speculation among the northern sages. According to some the vessel must have been caught by the teeth of the fish *remora;* while others conceived that it must have been drawn back by an immense mountain of magnet, placed at the bottom of the sea; but Crantz insinuates, that the magnetic attraction exercised in the minds of the sailors by the idea of home was that which really produced this sudden and marvellous pause in her career.* Whatever theory we may adopt on this subject, it is in no quarter alleged, that the nature of the coast had any influence in producing this signal failure. Yet from it seems to have been originally derived the idea of its inaccessible character. In 1606, Christian IV. king of Denmark, sent out Gotske Lindenau, with the title of Admiral, and three vessels, one of which was commanded by James Hall, an Englishman. Three voyages were accordingly made; but the researches were almost exclusively confined to Davis's Straits, and consequently to Western Greenland. On one occasion only, Lindenau touched on the eastern coast, which he found no difficulty in reaching, maintained for several days a traffic with the natives, and ended with carrying off

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* Crantz, i.

three, who, inconsolable for the loss of this favoured country, did not long survive.* I really find no record of any other voyages to this coast, except that of Lowenorn, the fortune of which has been already accounted for, and of Egede, who immediately after followed in his steps, on the same plan. As soon as Davis's Straits and the bays of Baffin and Hudson were discovered, it became evident that the north-west passage, the primary object of all northern voyages, could only be sought for in that direction; and thither accordingly almost all adventurers directed their course.

We have now to consider a narrative of still greater celebrity, which is supposed to include an early record of the discovery of America. Venice, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was the capital seat of all commercial and maritime enterprise. Among its noble families, few held a higher rank than the Zeni, who had filled the highest offices of the republic, and distinguished themselves in the wars against the Ottoman Porte. In 1380, Nicolo Zeno set sail for the north, with the view of visiting England and Flanders, but was driven by a tempest on the coast of a country which he calls Friesland. Zichmni, its prince, received him with much kindness, and, finding him deeply skilled in maritime affairs, placed him at the head of his naval force. In this capacity, Zeno had occasion, during the course of twenty years, to visit almost all the countries of the north,—Norway, Iceland, Greenland, with others which he calls Porland,

* Forster, b. iii. ch. 6, sect. 2. Crantz, i.

Estland, and Sorany.* These last, with Friesland, not being now appropriate to any known region of Europe, threw a veil of doubt over the whole relation. Forster, in endeavouring to elucidate the question, at first contended, that all these countries had, by some mighty convulsion, been swallowed up in the bottom of the sea. Had he been able to give no better account of the matter, not all the antiquity and high exploits of the Zeni could have saved their narrative from the imputation of decided forgery. But Forster wisely began to consider whether, under these names, might not be implied other countries, now known to us by different appellations; and it soon appeared that Orkney, Shetland, the Faro Islands, and the Hebrides, might very well furnish out the apparently unknown countries described by Zeno.† In fact, Estland is fixed very clearly as Shetland, by the names Bras (Bressa), Broas (Bara), Talas (Zeal or Yell), and several others. The introduction even of these uncouth names, not known in Europe when the narrative was published, tends to remove the suspicion of its being a manufactured production. Agreeing, therefore, with the northern writers in thinking this a genuine relation, I shall proceed directly to that part of it which is supposed to concern the discovery of America.

Four fishing vessels belonging to Friesland, being overtaken by a violent storm, were tossed about for

* Ramusio Navigazioni e Viaggi, ii. 230.

† Discoveries in the North, b. ii. ch. 3, sect. 13.

many days by the tempest. As the weather cleared, they discovered a large island, which they called Estotiland, reckoned to be a thousand miles distant from Friesland. Being obliged to land, they were conducted to a most beautiful and very populous city. They were introduced to the king; but neither party were able to understand each other, till a man was found who had been cast upon the same shore, and who could speak Latin. The Frieslanders were detained for five years in this country, which they found nearly as large as Iceland, and much more fertile, watered by four large rivers springing from a high mountain in the interior. The inhabitants raised grain and brewed beer, and had ships with which they navigated the sea. The king had a library, in which were Latin books, which the people, however, did not now understand. The country contained many towns and castles.

To the south of Estotiland there lay a more extensive and fertile country, called Drogio; and the Frieslanders, on account of their skill in navigation, were employed in guiding thither a small fleet. They were cast away, however, on the shore of a savage nation, by whom the greater part of them were killed, and, it is said, devoured. One fisherman, however, by teaching the before-unknown art of fishing with nets, came into so great favour, that war was even waged for the possession of him. He passed, by forcible or friendly means, through the hands of twenty-five different lords in the course of thirteen years. He found them a rude people, going naked, destitute of any species of corn, and living by the chase. They car-

ried on furious wars, and committed dreadful cruelties, to the extent even of devouring each other. To the south-west the manners of the people were more civilized. They made use of gold and silver, had cities, temples, and idols, to which they offered up human sacrifices. At length the Frieslander effected his escape from this country to that of Drogio, where, having remained for three years, he found some barks bound to Estotiland, in which he obtained a passage. He afterwards, it is said, carried on a traffic between the two countries, by which he acquired considerable wealth, and, being thus enabled to equip a small vessel of his own, returned to Friesland.

The intelligence brought by this fisherman roused the adventurous spirit of Zichmni. He equipped a fleet, which he placed under the command of Zeno, for the purpose of exploring Estotiland. Unluckily the fisherman died just as they were getting out; but one of the sailors who had accompanied him served as a pilot. They sailed by Ledovo (Lewis), and Ilofe (Islay); but, after leaving this last island, were overtaken by a violent storm, by which they were tossed for several days, when they discovered land to the westward. It proved to be an island called Icaria, governed by a son of Dædalus, king of Scotland. These names have a very fabulous sound; but Forster surmises that, classical recollections floating in the mind of Zeno, he here confounds plain common names with those furnished to him by ancient poetry. At this island he met with a very inhospitable reception, and, in attempting to land, a scuffle ensued, in which several were killed on both sides. Zeno, therefore,

sailed onwards to the west; but, encountering a contrary wind, he allowed his fleet to be carried northward to Greenland, whence he returned to Friesland by way of the Faro Islands.

It is considered by Forster, Malte Brun,* and other foreign *savans*, as beyond all contradiction, that Estotiland can be no other country than Newfoundland; and that the civilization and European aspect which that region presented were derived from the Icelandic colonies, who, two centuries before, had settled there, and given it the name of Vinland. The very name, synonymous with East Out-land, is said to be strikingly descriptive of the relative situation of Newfoundland to the American continent.

After the rigid scepticism which has reigned throughout this discussion, the reader will probably be prepared for finding the present pretension considered as equally questionable. I cannot indeed but think, that he himself must have found these Latin books, in a castle on the coast of Newfoundland, of somewhat difficult digestion. About a century after this country was discovered by Cabot; and its coasts, forming the finest fishing-station in the world, were very soon frequented and even crowded by European vessels. How was it then, that not a vestige was ever seen of any one of the objects described by the Friesland fishermen? Where were the castles, the libraries, the "belle e popolate citta?" Where was the brewing of beer, an art of all others the least like-

* Précis de la Géographie, i.

ly to be lost, among a people passionately fond of intoxicating liquors. These accounts have generally a somewhat boastful character, being written with the view of inviting emigrants; but they all describe Newfoundland as existing in a complete state of savage and primeval nature. Supposing that this numerous and flourishing people had been exterminated by the handful of naked savages who were found on the coast, there would surely have remained some traces of culture, some fragments or foundations of buildings, some remnant of European arts or instruments. But it was not till the discoverers of America had reached the banks of the Mississippi, a thousand miles in the interior, that they found any traces of departed civilization; and though some have attempted to refer these to Norman emigrants, the idea cannot surely be deserving of a serious refutation.

It may be observed finally, that the geographical position assigned is very far from agreeing with Newfoundland. The distance is stated at a thousand miles; but from the Orkney or Faro Islands to this part of America it cannot be less than two thousand; and the space, in such difficult and hazardous voyages, is always exaggerated instead of being so remarkably diminished. If, then, the relation be, as I rather incline to think, substantially correct, I have little doubt that Estotiland is neither more nor less than Ireland. According to Forster's translation, it exceeds a thousand miles due west; but this is by no means implied in the original, which says, "posta in ponente, lontana de Frislanda piu de mille miglia,"—"situated in the west, distant from Friesland more

than a thousand miles." The distance is no doubt exaggerated, but it might be expected to be so; and it might be the coast of Connaught on which they landed. The expression, East-out-land, under a somewhat different view of the subject, would be as applicable to Ireland as to Newfoundland. One thing is clear, that, under the guidance of a person who had come from Estotiland, they were going (by Lewis and Islay) the direct route to Ireland, and a very circuitous one to America. If, indeed, according to Forster's supposition, the shore of Icaria, on which they were cast, were that of Ireland, it would be strange if the Estotilander should not know his own country. But it seems clear that Ireland could not be Icaria, a small island which the expedition sailed all round, while the party of natives who met them on their arrival went round along with them. It was evidently one of the minor Hebrides, Tyree, or Barra. Drogio, and the countries to the south, more extensive and fertile than Ireland, might be Spain and the south of France. But here there do occur certain features which have a tendency somewhat to shake our unbelief. The account of nations who subsisted solely by hunting, and were unacquainted with the use of iron, bears certainly an American character, and would not perhaps, even at that era, apply to the rudest portions of Europe. There seems no foundation also, in that continent, on which a rumour of human sacrifice could be founded. These particulars are so striking, while, at the same time, the negative proofs above adduced appear quite decisive, that I am somewhat reluctantly driven to suspect

interpolation. This relation, it must be observed, though stated to have long existed in manuscript, did not appear till sixty years after the discovery of America, yet while the world was still echoing with that discovery. That there was a good deal of piecing and manufacturing before it arrived at the press, is evident from the relation of Marcolini, the editor, who confesses that the letters of the Zeni, from which it was drawn up, having come into his hands while a child, he had, with the wantonness of that age, torn them into pieces, which he afterwards, when he became aware of their importance, sorrowfully collected and put into shape. Yet they form a connected narrative, which could not have been effected without some help from the editor. Marcolini might easily avail himself of these circumstances to eke out the evidence of an early discovery of America. I cannot help remarking, that the Friesland fishermen know a good deal too much for their own credit. If carried into the interior of New England or New York, they might learn somewhat of the savage natives of those countries; but where did they hear of the gold and silver, the temples and human sacrifices of Mexico? It is also remarkable that, along with all the knowledge respecting America possessed at the time when the narrative was published, they should combine the errors which were then prevalent. It was generally believed at that period, that the Indians of North America were cannibals, which, as America became better known, has proved an erroneous idea; and of this the fisherman, if he really passed through so many of their tribes, and on such an in-

timate footing, could not but have been aware. Lastly, we may confidently assert, that merchant vessels passing between Newfoundland and New England, and persons getting rich by this traffic, was a feature of which there could not exist the least vestige in the native state of those countries.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE INHABITANTS OF AMERICA.

General Statement of the Question.—Whether all Men were derived from one Original.—Arguments for this Opinion.—Difficulties answered.—Action of the Sun on the Human Skin.—Form and Colour of the Americans.—Various Causes affecting it.—White Nations in America.—Various Theories respecting the Peopling of America.—Imagined Resemblance between the Americans and Jews.—Acosta.—Grotius.—Probable Quarter whence America was peopled.—Question whether Colonists might come from any other Quarter.—Supposed Resemblance between the Languages of America and those of the other Continents.

How or whence America has been peopled is a still more curious question, and is connected with some of the deepest problems respecting the origin and nature of the human species. It is primarily involved in that grand question, Whether all mankind had one common original, or whether the different races which are separated from each other by such marked distinctions, have each sprung from a separate source? It is on the former supposition only, that the question respecting the peopling of America is a question at

all; for if there were a number of separate originals, that continent as well as others might have had its own.

On considering those great masses of mankind, among whom reigns an uniform aspect, with the broad distinctions which separate them from other portions, various learned inquirers* have concluded, that there must be distinct original races of men, as there apparently are of dogs and other animals. They observe, that the negro, and other races, whose peculiarities have been supposed to be most decidedly the effect of climate, when transported to a different sky, continue for generations to preserve all their characters unaltered, and to transmit them to their posterity. But men transported from the temperate to the tropical climates, though they acquire a darker tint, do not communicate it to their children. Although colour be the circumstance supposed most especially to depend on climate, yet the tints of the different nations can by no means be exactly measured by their distance from the equator. There are nations of a light colour between the tropics, and others in the vicinity of the polar regions that are extremely dark.

The whole of this work would be no more than enough to enter into a full discussion of this difficult and extended subject. Our limits can allow us only to take a very rapid sketch. Without referring to any historical documents, however venerable, we may find, in the mere examination of existing phenomena, strong presumptions that all men belong to one com-

* Pritchard, Lawrence, &c.

mon race, and may observe various particulars which have been overlooked by those who argued on the opposite side.

There are no differences in the form and component parts of the human body similar to those which zoologists are accustomed to employ as distinctive characters. All races of men are of the same size; the very slight existing departures from this rule being easily solved by the abundance or scarcity of food, and by other causes favourable or otherwise to the development of the human growth. There is no difference in the number or form of the extremities, which, being the circumstance least acted upon by situation and habitude, is usually considered as the surest test of a distinct species. All men have the same number of fingers, of toes, of teeth; while very slight distinctions of this species mark, I believe, otherwise similar species of various animals.

Colour is, of all other particulars, the most remarkable in which one race of men differ from another. Now the action of the sun, in darkening the human tint, is too obvious to be denied or unnoticed. The European, transported under the burning influence of a tropical sky, has its effects soon marked upon his complexion in the most distinct manner. Let us observe the gradations of colour upon the meridian under which we live. Under the equator we have the deep black of the negro; then the copper or olive of the Moors of Northern Africa; then the Spaniard and Italian, swarthy compared to any other Europeans; the French still darker than the English; while the fair and florid complexion of England and Germany passes, more northerly, into the bleached

Scandinavian white. At last, indeed, the gradation is broken; for a dusky tint reigns along the whole circuit of the arctic border. This colour does not seem very well explained; but its universal prevalence under that latitude seems very clearly to indicate, that there is something in the climate with which it is connected. During their short but brilliant summer, the sun, perpetually above the horizon, shines with an intensity unknown in temperate climates. May not the natives, who spend this season almost perpetually in the open air, hunting or fishing, receive from it that dark tint which is not easily effaced? But I cannot withstand the suspicion, that this deep tint is neither more nor less than a smoke-brown. The tenants of all this bleak circuit necessarily spend half the year in almost subterraneous abodes, heated by fires as ample as they have fuel to maintain, the smoke of which, deprived of any legitimate vent, constantly fills their apartments, and must have an effect in darkening the complexion, to which it very closely adheres.

When observations are made on the difference of colour in nations placed under the same latitude, due allowance is not always made for the other causes by which the temperature is modified. Many of these are of the most powerful nature, and sufficient entirely to counteract the influence of a southern position. Among those which tend to diminish the heat are elevation, the proximity of the sea, vast woods and marshes covering the surface of a country. The intensity of the heat, on the other hand, is remarkably increased by the existence or vicinity of arid and sandy deserts.

To understand farther the varieties in the action of heat, we must consider, that the sun does not paint the human skin by an external and mechanical process, as the limner lays his colours on the canvass. It acts by altering the character of the juices, and causing the secretion of a coloured fluid, which effuses itself into a cellular membrane immediately under the cuticle. Blumenbach seems to have ascertained, that the negro colour is produced by the secretion of the carbon which abounds in the human frame. It is thus easily conceivable, that heat itself, by a different action, arising out of some constitutional peculiarity, may produce the dead white of the Albino. Thus disease, especially of the biliary system, tinges the skin of a very deep colour. This change seems in general to form a salutary provision, affording a fence against the scorching heat, and even against the various vicissitudes of the weather. The complexion of the negro enables him to present a more iron front than any other race against every inclement action of the elements. It seems too much, however, to think with Mr Jarrold,* that he becomes the most perfect specimen of the species, in consequence of possessing this coarse impassive tegument. As well might the hide of the buffalo, or the quills of the porcupine, be considered as ranking those animals above man, because they defend against many evils to which his delicate skin exposes him. Humboldt observes, that the dark races are almost entirely free from those deformities

* Anthropologia.

to which the whites are liable.* But the greater delicacy and sensibility on which this liability depends must be considered, on the whole, as a perfection in the human structure. The Caucasian or European variety, formed under the influence of a temperate climate, not only possesses a manifestly superior beauty, but appears the best fitted for performing all the higher functions of life.

There are other characteristics different from colour, which yet, being usually combined with it, are urged in support of the opinion that they belong all to a race differing throughout from the rest of mankind; but, if the colour of the skin be the result of a constitutional affection, the same affection may modify other parts of the human frame. The hair is very particularly climatic; and the manner in which, even in the same country, it varies with the complexion, shows how much it is ruled by the same causes. It is a matter of long observation, how, in proportion to the coldness of the climate, the covering of every animal becomes richer and softer;—hence, probably, the scanty and rude hairs of the nations under the equator, as compared with the full covering of the European head. The action of mind, and the habits of life, have doubtless an action upon the frame, imperfectly estimated, on account of the extreme slowness of its operation. The unintellectual visage of the negro has been supposed, along with his colour, to form different parts of that general structure, which constitutes him a different being from

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* New Spain, i. 152.

other mortals. I apprehend, however, that the conjunction will be found to be casual, and the two particulars to arise from distinct causes. The Foulahs, of a more thinking and vigorous character than the Mandingos, unite a deeper black, with much less of the negro features. Nearly the same may be observed of the more intelligent natives of Ashantee and Haoussa. The Hindoo unites the black colour with a delicacy of form and expression, arising evidently from habits of mind and life, which render him in these respects the antipode of the negro. Thus, the black colour and the negro features seem connected casually, or at least in so far only as exposure to the seasons, and intellectual sluggishness, may jointly accompany a certain backward state of civilization.

The cases particularly urged by those who argue in favour of the difference of races are those where an individual transported to another climate than that of his birth, and one destitute of those peculiarities to which his form and colour have been referred, retains these unaltered, and transmits them to his posterity for generations. These facts appear to have been much exaggerated, both as to the length of time and the absence of any gradual change. Undoubtedly, however, when any characters have been thoroughly worked into the system, they will long survive the causes which gave them birth, especially when no active contrary causes are in operation. A dark colour, though soon acquired, is not easily effaced; and when the causes acting on form have come to affect the bones, the effect is of course very obstinate. This may serve for the solution of many cases in which the form and

climate do not appear to correspond. The Chinese, descended from the Mongols, retain still a modified Mongol visage and shape. The natives of New South Wales, sprung from the oriental negro, and continuing still, from their rude habits, exposed to the constant action of sun and air, have remained black. Thus Indostan is still peopled by races of various form and colour. But I imagine that, upon narrow inspection, the original characters will be found undergoing gradual modifications, which tend to assimilate them to those of the new country and situation. The Jews form certainly a very striking example on this subject. "Descended from one stock, and prohibited by the most sacred institutions from intermarrying with other nations, and yet dispersed, according to the divine predictions, into every country on the globe, this one people is marked with the colours of all;—fair in Britain and Germany, brown in France and in Turkey, swarthy in Portugal and in Spain, olive in Syria and in Chaldea, tawny or copper-coloured in Arabia and in Egypt."*

But it is said the Americans themselves, of whom we are treating, afford the strongest argument against this supposed power of climate in forming the peculiarities of race. One tint, one form, is said to prevail over the whole continent from the equator to the pole. This statement has a superficial aspect of truth; but Humboldt remarks, that, "after living longer among the indigenous Americans, we discover that celebrated travellers, who could only observe a few

* Smith on the Variety of Complexion of the Human Species.

individuals on the coasts, have singularly exaggerated the analogy of form among the Americans."* If a broad, squat, somewhat short form be the general type, the Patagonians in the north have attained the reputation of giants, and the tribes on the Orinoco, according to Humboldt, are among the largest and most robust of the human race. The same great traveller found on the banks of the Orinoco tribes whose features differed as essentially from each other as those of the various Asiatic nations. The general type resembles the Mongolic, though with some variations; the surface of the face, though broad, being less flat, and the cranium of a peculiar form. The north-east of Asia is the quarter from which it is probable, and indeed almost certain, that the great mass of the Americans were derived. But this type itself was formed from situation and habits of life, and is liable to be modified when these are changed. The features themselves appear to be the result of a hardy, hunting life, among persons who feel continually "the seasons' difference." Hence these features, though not generally Celtic, have been formed to a certain extent among the Celts of the Scottish Highlands.

But it is the colour of the American nations which has been especially urged as subverting the theory of an unity of race. Even Humboldt himself conceives that climate forms the colour of the old world, but does not act upon it in America.† But I cannot be satisfied with the facts which this very learned in-

* New Spain, i. 141. † Ibid. i. 143-5.

quirer adduces in support of an opinion so little probable in itself. There are two extremities of colour among mankind, the black and the white, which appear in their perfection, the one in the African negro, the other in the northern European. Between these two there is a series of medial colours, —brown, copper, swarthy, mingled with tints of yellow and red. The Americans are placed among these medial tints, the colour in scarcely any instance running into those two extremes, which are exhibited in so great a proportion of the inhabitants of the old world. In the physical structure, however, of the American continent, and the circumstances of its people, we shall find probably a sufficient solution of this peculiarity.

Why does the complexion of the American never run into black, even when he lives in climates which in the old world are marked by the deepest shades of this colour? On examination, we soon discover remarkable circumstances, which in the new world mitigate the violence of the solar action. Elevation is the most influential of all these circumstances. The equatorial regions of the new world are pervaded by mountain-ranges of stupendous altitude, in consequence of which they present all the features of a temperate climate. The breezes, descending from the perpetual snows with which these awful heights are covered, cool the surrounding plains to a vast extent. The floods descending from them, unrivalled in the old world, inundate and convert into marsh a great part of America, producing thus a remarkable lowering of its temperature. They prevent also the

formation of any of those ranges of sandy desert, the reflection of which, and the breezes blowing from them, excite the most intense and scorching of all heats, and, existing on a great scale in Africa and Indostan, are doubtless one principal cause of producing the deep black of those regions. Lastly, America is almost one continued forest, entertwined with the most profuse growth of underwood. Even in the wide open savannahs the grass attains a growth above the human height. The deep shade thus produced not only affords a fence against the rays of the sun, but causes a general coolness of the surface, and renders America under the same latitude every where colder than Africa or Europe.

Though there are general causes sufficient to connect the absence of the negro in America with climatic influence, there are admitted to be great varieties in the depth of the brown complexion; but M. Humboldt contends that these cannot in any case be referred to the greater or less degree of heat. It is the same, he observes, in the most elevated plains of the Cordilleras, and in the narrowest and deepest plains of the equinoctial regions. But the upper table-plains of the Andes are in a great measure open and cultivated, while the valleys at their feet are buried under an almost impenetrable depth of shade. A shaded heat, I imagine, has not the same influence on the complexion as the direct beating of the rays of the sun. A person, who, even in the hottest summer, remains constantly within doors, suffers perhaps more from heat than those who go abroad, but never becomes, like them, freckled or sun-

burnt. A pale colour predominates even among the most vigorous tenants of the back woods of America. These considerations may solve much of the mystery which M. Humboldt remarks in the swarthy colour of the inhabitants of the high Mexican table-land. This lofty plain, arid, and remarkably bare of vegetation, of course leaves its tenants without that shelter which the lower regions afford. Another mystery does not appear very profound. "In the forests of Guiana, especially near the sources of Orinoco, are several tribes of a whitish complexion." The very terms of this description, implying considerable elevation and deep shade, seems to involve the solution of the difficulty. The closest approach to black appears to be in Brazil, where climatic causes ought certainly to place it,—that country being comparatively low, and immediately under the equator.

But how then are we to solve the opposite phenomenon, that the American complexion never passes into *white?* America has a temperate region, more extensive than that of Europe, and cooler, or rather colder, under the same latitude. Yet the Hurons and the Iroaquois, inhabiting the Canadian rivers and lakes, frozen during half the year, are decidedly copper-coloured nations. The simple reason appears to be, they are savages. Scarcely half-clothed, most imperfectly defended, in miserable wigwams, from the inclemency of the elements; wandering often for weeks on their long war and hunting excursions, without any shelter but that of the trunk of a tree, they are exposed to bear all the vicissitudes of weather, and constantly "to bide the pelting of the

pitiless storm. Their visage soon acquires that hard and bronzed aspect which is always formed under such circumstances. A gentleman who should hunt for a whole summer exposing himself to all weathers, over the Highland mountains, would return with that brown complexion which we call weather-beaten, and which sailors, even in the temperate seas, generally acquire. The peasantry who work constantly in the open air, unless, as in England, they take some peculiar precaution, soon acquire a hard and imbrowned visage. No class of men is white, unless those who are regularly clothed, live under cover, and enjoy some of the conveniences of life.

After all, there *are* white nations in America, and those of no inconsiderable extent. On the north-west coast, about lat. 50°, in Nootka Sound, and a number of other bays examined by Cook, Meares, and Vancouver, the people are more numerous, and have attained a much greater share of external accommodation, than over the rest of the continent. One of their towns contains 2000, another 4000 people. They have built large houses, walled and roofed with gigantic trunks of trees, which, as in Florida, are often carved into a rude species of images. They are well clothed, and, besides the products of the chase, derive an abundant subsistence from the fishery. They are thus in a great measure exempted from those hardships, and those dire vicissitudes of the seasons, which the hunting tribes encounter. Accordingly, when the thick coating of dirt and ochre in which they are usually cased could be taken off, they proved to be *white*. Cook's

narrative calls it an *effete* white, like that of the southern nations of Europe,—a description which does not seem very easily understood; but Meares expressly says, that some of the females, when cleaned, were found to have the fair complexions of Europe. Somewhat farther north, at Cloak Bay, in lat. 54° 10′, Humboldt remarks that, "in the midst of copper-coloured Indians, with small long eyes, there is a tribe with large eyes, European features, and a skin less dark than that of our peasantry."* M. Humboldt considers this as the strongest argument of an original diversity of race which has remained for ages unaffected by climate. But is it likely that there should be a creation of the inhabitants of Cloak Bay distinct from that of the rest of America? These people exist evidently under the same circumstances with those of Nootka, and present the same features, rendered perhaps more decided by their being somewhat farther to the north, while the long-eyed copper Indians are the wandering savages of the interior.

European writers, for some time after the discovery of America, busied themselves to an extraordinary degree in conjecturing whence and by whom this vast continent had been peopled. The volumes, or rather libraries, which have been written on the subject, can be little deserving of any detailed analysis, now especially, when the mysteries which once hung over the subject have been in a great measure dispelled.

* New Spain, i. 145.

One French writer has written five volumes to prove that America was peopled by the Antediluvians.* It is the opinion of many, that the Canaanites, after being driven out by the Jews, fled into America; and it is added, that the Jews themselves followed after the captivity and dispersion of the ten tribes. The Tyrians and Carthaginians, in the course of their extensive navigations, could not possibly miss the shores of the new world. Garcia does not see, when so many nations are putting in their claim, why the Trojans should remain behind.† In short, to read these writers, one would think there never was any class of persons, from the earliest ages, that felt straitened or uneasy at home, who did not instantly set out for America. But we have said enough to show that the undertaking is far from being of that easy or likely description which the student seated in his closet so readily imagines.

The weak positive proofs on which the above opinions rest, have been enforced by a supposed resemblance in customs and character between the Americans and certain nations of the old world. The Jews have been specially pitched upon, probably from being the people whose usages were best known to the Spanish ecclesiastics, who began the controversy, and whose opinion has been seconded by Hennepin and other French missionaries, and most zealously

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* Essai sur la Question quand et comment l'Amérique a-t-il été peuplée, 5 tom. 12mo, 1767.

† Origen de los Indios.

by Adair, an English trader, who certainly had a most intimate knowledge of the Indians. According to these writers, the resemblance is so striking as to leave no room to doubt that the Americans were Jews. The judicious reader, however, soon perceives that these boasted similarities consist merely in those fundamental principles, in the constitution of man, which are common alike to every country and every age. Hennepin and Adair particularly instance that the Indians are divided into tribes, over which chiefs preside; that they mourn at the death of their relations; that their females are fond of ornamenting themselves; with other customs equally singular, which, it is thought, could never have entered the minds of any people who were not of Jewish origin.* Garica, in particular, remarks, that a great proportion of them honoured their parents, and considered theft and murder as crimes; whence it appears to him manifest, that they must have received the ten commandments from Moses. Others, on the contrary, showed themselves obstinate, unbelieving, hard-hearted, and ungrateful,—faults which they could only have learned from the stiff-necked posterity of Abraham. Every attempt to establish analogies of a more positive nature has entirely failed.

Acosta has, of all the early writers, produced the most judicious essay upon this subject. He rejects positively the Jewish hypothesis, though he does not much strengthen the arguments against it, by remark-

* Hennepin, Découverte, &c. ch. 11. Adair's History of the American Indians.

ing) that the Indians are not usurers; for this practice belongs to the later era of Jewish exile and degradation, not to that in which they are supposed to have emigrated to the west. He views also, with much and just suspicion, all the colonies supposed to have been sent across the ocean. The difficulty of that age, however, was the want of any known point of America which was not separated by an almost immeasurable space from any other land. He indites on this subject a sentence which is almost predictive. He says, "I have long cherished in my mind this opinion, that the two worlds join at least in some point of their extremities, and are not separated by such vast intervals."* He then points to the north and north-west, observing, that there was here too vast a range of unknown coast to allow of any absolute negative being placed on his suggestion. Then, unfortunately, he turns to the south, and suggests, that colonists from Asia may have come across the great Austral continent, and crossed at the Straits of Magellan. We must not condemn Acosta too hastily for this wild conjecture. Only the northern coast of Terra del Fuego was then known; and it was very generally viewed as part of the great Austral continent, of which the existence was not doubted. Had Acosta not split upon this rock, he might have been considered as having produced the ablest solution of this problem that has yet appeared.

Grotius, the ablest man who undertook to treat this

* Ap. De Bry, ix. 37.

subject, wrote perhaps the weakest of all the books upon it. He denied the Tartar origin, and supposed North America to have been peopled from Norway, by way of Greenland. These northern emigrants, however, were unable, he supposes, to pass the isthmus of Panama, and South America was peopled partly from Africa and partly from China.

The peopling of America is no longer an object of the slightest mystery or difficulty. The north-west limit of this continent approaches so close to Asia, that the two are almost within view of each other, and small boats can pass between them. Even farther south, at Kamtschatka, where the distance may be six or seven hundred miles, the Fox and Aleutian Islands form so continuous a chain, that the passage might be effected with the greatest facility. The Tschutchi, who inhabit the north-eastern extremity of Asia, are in the regular habit of passing from one continent to the other.* These tribes, then, from the earliest ages, had discovered that mysterious world which was hidden from the wisest nations of antiquity, and appeared so wonderful to modern Europeans. It was not a discovery in their eyes. They knew not that this was Asia and that was America; they knew not that they were on one of the great boundaries of earth. They knew only that one frozen and dreary shore was opposite to another equally frozen and dreary. However, it is manifest, that by this route any amount of people might have passed over into

* Cochran's Pedestrian Journey.

America. The form of the Americans approaching to that of the nations in the north-east of Asia, the comparatively well-peopled state of its north-western districts, and the constant tradition of the Mexicans, that the Azteks and the Toultecs, who early occupied their territory, came from the north-west; all agree with the indications afforded by the natural structure of the continent.

But it may be said, that although people by this channel undoubtedly passed over from the old world to America, this does not exclude other colonies from finding their way across the Atlantic or the Pacific. Supposing it too much to have crossed the entire breadth at once, they may have taken their departure from some of the numerous islands with which both oceans, and especially the Pacific, are interspersed: all peopled at their first discovery. If these islands were peopled from the distant continents of Europe and Asia, why not America from them? We are to observe, however, that the South Sea groups, however distant some of them may be from any mainland, range in a continuous line with each other, so that the extremity of one group is seldom very far distant from the extremity of another. It was therefore no very mighty achievement for men possessing, on a small scale, the maritime enterprise natural to an insular territory, to effect a passage successively to each. But America is every where, unless on the north, begirt with an unbroken breadth of at least a thousand miles of ocean, without a single insular point which could form a step in the progress of the navigator. Combining this circumstance with the

observations already made on these immense voyages, whether voluntary or compulsory, the probability appears very great, that no such passage ever took place. If any detached individuals ever were wafted across the ocean, I am persuaded that they would not possess or retain any of the civilization of the old world; and that they did not contribute in any shape to that measure or form of improvement which was attained in Mexico or Peru. It is vain to urge that the Mexicans expressed their ideas, and even their history, by paintings, which bore some resemblance to the paintings and hieroglyphics of Egypt. Man, as soon as he emerges from total barbarism, must feel the desire of expressing his ideas by some mode more durable than words; and this mode, in the first instance, must inevitably be painting. He must begin with a picture of the object which he wishes to record. This picture, generalized and refined, passes gradually into the symbol, the hieroglyphic, the expressive mark, and, finally, into the alphabetic character. In these latter stages, although they depend upon the general principles of human nature, there is much, in point of form, that is arbitrary, and a coincidence in regard to which might indicate very clearly an ancient connexion. But mere paintings, as they must bear a certain resemblance, so their common use seems to indicate nothing more than the action of the most elementary principles in the human mind. The forms of architecture also, as they are dictated by convenience or the sense of beauty, may often exhibit some casual coincidences. I am convinced that all the

civilization which existed in America arose, as it flourished, in the delightful table-lands of Mexico, Quito, Cusco, and Cundinamarca. It is in these happy regions where men multiply, and the means of subsistence are abundant, that the refined arts first become an object of cultivation. This conclusion is not at all shaken by the fact quoted by Humboldt, that the Toultec conquerors, who came from the now barbarous regions in the north-west, were the framers of the most remarkable of the Mexican monuments.* Generally, conquerors adopt the arts and improvements of the vanquished nation; and their active and ambitious character impels them to call these into action on a greater scale than the usually supine dynasty which they have overthrown. The grandest monuments of Hindostan and China were erected by monarchs of Tartar origin; but the art which constructed them was Hindoo or Chinese.

Several very learned and diligent efforts have recently been made to fix on a more precise basis the origin of the American nations. Attempts have been made to find in their languages such a similarity with those of the old continent as might indicate the one as a derivative from the other. The first and most meritorious research upon this subject has been made by Mr Smith Barton of Philadelphia, in comparing his own researches with the rich collection of the Asiatic dialects made by Pallas, under the auspices of

* New Spain, i. 133.

the empress Catherine. He has thus made a collection of similar sounds, which at first sight wear a somewhat imposing aspect. Professor Vater,* however, by collecting these into one point, has, in my opinion, triumphantly refuted the inference attempted to be drawn from them. The resemblances amount in all to about fifty-five; but they are by no means of any one language to any other language. One correspondence, for instance, is between the Samoiede and the Delaware language; the next between the Ostiak and the Algonquin. Upon the whole, upwards of thirty Asiatic and the same number of American languages are employed in bringing out this very slender amount of coincidences; making an average of not quite two words to each language. It seems somewhat odd, that a greater number of similar sounds should not have been the result of mere chance. It is also very singular, that the most remote Asiatic countries, those which seem most beyond the reach of intercourse with America, contribute as liberally as those which are in the closest contiguity with that continent. Professor Vater, however, after overthrowing the work of his predecessor, has not hesitated to undertake a similar fabric of his own, and, by immense labour, has actually raised the number of resemblances to a hundred and four; but, to obtain this result, he has been obliged to bring into requisition more than thirty other languages, including those of Europe, Africa, and Australasia; so that

* Untersuchungen uber den America's Bevolkerung, p. 47-55.

his results are quite as futile as those which he had previously subverted.* Lastly, M. Malte Brun, taking Asia and America only, collecting all that had been done by his predecessors, and adding a few of his own, has made out about a hundred and twenty; but for this purpose he has been obliged to bring into play upwards of sixty languages in each world; so that it seems somehow impossible to pass the fatal average of two words to a language.†

The resemblances being so inconclusive, in consequence of the smallness of their number, it may seem superfluous to criticise that small number very severely; and yet they afford considerable room for criticism. Almost all the striking agreements consist in the natural sounds,—Ata, Baba, Papa, Mama, Ana, which, being the first usually uttered by the infant organs, are employed in all languages to express the tender relation which exists between the parent and child. Of the others, many really appear excessively faint. The similarity of *kekackquees* to *kuk*, —*pappoos* to *pup*,—*peechten* to *paschi*,—*keesq* to *kus*,—*metzli* to *muts*,—*mequarme* to *mik*, appear to be the reverse of striking.

There really is something mysterious in this total absence of all analogy between the languages of the old and new world. It appears the more singular, when we observe that all the languages of the numerous nations of the civilized world spring from one or two original stocks, which have also close ana-

* Untersuchungen, &c. 156-74. † Universal Geography, v.

logies with each other. It should seem, that the speech of wandering tribes, who migrate to distant regions, and have neither written record nor traditionary poetry to preserve any fixed standard, undergoes by degrees a total change. Even the provincial dialects in the remoter districts of England diverge so widely from the genuine standard as to be absolutely unintelligible to the speaker of pure English and to the inhabitants of other provinces. Hence we may wonder less at a still more entire change taking place in cases of wider and longer separation. The extraordinary number of languages which exist within America itself, and their faint analogies to each other, tend to confirm this supposition.*

* Vater, Untersuchungen, &c. 195-203. Humboldt, Personal Narrative, vi. 359.

BOOK I.

DISCOVERY AND COLONIZATION OF NORTH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY VOYAGES TO THE AMERICAN COAST.

Discovery of North America.—John and Sebastian Cabot.—Various Accounts of their Voyage.—Ponce de Leon, Discovery of Florida.—Verazzani—His Voyages along the American Coast—His tragical Fate.—Cartier discovers the Gulf of St Lawrence—Canada—Montreal—Roberval.

It is not here intended to enter into any detail of the grand discovery by Columbus. That event (the best known of any in modern times) has been received into the domain of history, and has been recorded by Robertson with an eloquence and interest with which I should reluctantly enter into competition. Still more, since Mr Irving has given new force to the character of Columbus, and painted the shores of the new world in such magic tints, the writer would be daring who should attempt to tread in such footsteps. This work, besides, relates to *North* America, and Columbus

only saw the southern, and did not, at any point, come into contact with the northern part of that mighty continent, which he had been the instrument of discovering.

Henry VII. of England narrowly, and somewhat hardly, missed the glory of attaching to his name and that of his country, the discovery of the transatlantic world. Columbus, finding his negotiations at the courts of Spain and Portugal in an unpromising state, sent his brother, Bartholomew, to treat with Henry, who, notwithstanding his cautious and penurious habits, appears very readily to have closed with the proposition.* Before, however, Bartholomew returned to Spain, his brother, under the auspices of Isabella, had sailed on the voyage, from which he returned triumphant.

Henry, though he had missed the main prize, continued still disposed to encourage those who were inclined to embark in the brilliant adventure. An offer was soon made to him from a respectable quarter. Such are the vicissitudes of human destiny, that the English, who were to become the greatest maritime people in the world, ventured not then to undertake distant voyages but under the guidance of Italians,—a people whose vessels are now never seen beyond the Mediterranean. Finding encouragement, however, from the rising spirit of the nation, John Caboto, whom we call Cabot, a Venetian, came over with his three sons to settle in England. By him a plan was

* Hackluyt, i. 4.

presented to Henry for a western voyage, to undertake the discovery of lands and regions unknown. Fabyan and Ramusio assert, that Henry defrayed the cost of at least one ship; but their testimony, though followed by Forster, cannot stand against the express words of the charter, in which the Cabots are authorised indeed to carry out ships and men, but "suis et eorum propriis sumptibus et expensis." Their commission indeed is abundantly ample. They are empowered to discover all the parts, regions, and bays of the eastern, western, and northern seas. They may fix the royal banners of England in any city, castle, town, island, or firm land, which may be by them discovered. John and his sons, their heirs and assignees, are to conquer, occupy, and rule the said cities, castles, towns, islands, and firm lands, as governors and lieutenants under the king; and no one is to approach or inhabit the said cities, castles, &c. without their permission. They are to enjoy the exclusive trade of these newly-discovered regions, being only bound to bring all their productions to the port of Bristol. These goods are to be exempted from all the ordinary duties of customs; but a fifth of the net profits arising from their sale is to be paid over to the king.

Under this warrant, Cabot set sail, and, on the 24th June, 1497, saw land, which he termed *Prima Vista;* but the English have since substituted their native term of Newfoundland. He afterwards sailed along a considerable extent of coast both to the north and south; when, finding a continuous range of coast, and no opening to the westward, he returned to England.

This was the first discovery of the American *continent;* for it was not till the following year, and in his third voyage, that Columbus saw the coast of South America, where the Orinoco pours its vast flood into the ocean. It is remarkable, and seems to indicate a very supine state of feeling upon these subjects, that, while the Spanish discoverers found such numerous historians, not a single narrative should exist of this memorable voyage. Hackluyt has with difficulty collected from various quarters a number of shreds, which do not harmonize very well together, and give only a very imperfect idea of the proceedings. The most authentic document is contained in a writing, made on a map drawn by Sebastian, and engraved by Clement Adams, which was kept at Whitehall, and of which there are said to have been copies in the houses of many of the old merchants. It is very short, and merely states the discovery of Newfoundland, and some of its qualities. The natives, it states, are clothed in the skins of wild beasts, which they value as much as we do our most precious garments. In war they use bows, arrows, darts, wooden clubs, and slings. The land is barren, and bears no fruit, whence it is filled with bears of a white colour, and stags of a magnitude unusual among us. It abounds in fishes, and those very large, as sea-wolves, (seals ?) and salmon; there are soles of a yard in length; but, above all, there is a great abundance of those fishes which we call baualaos, (cod).

This chart is stated, by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, to be in his time still preserved in the queen's private

gallery at Whitehall; but I have understood that it was afterwards destroyed by fire.

The only other meagre testimony is that of Fabyan, who saw three natives brought over by the Cabots from Newfoundland. "These were clothed in beasts' skins, and did eat raw flesh, and spake such speech that no man could understand them." However, two years after, he saw them apparelled after the manner of Englishmen, in Westminster Palace, "which that time I could not discern from Englishmen, till I was learned what they were; but as for speech, I heard none of them utter one word."

Such are all the records which England has seen fit to preserve of this her earliest and one of her most illustrious naval exploits. John Cabot, it would appear, soon died, and Sebastian, the most intelligent of his sons, finding no sufficient honour or encouragement in England, repaired to Spain, where the ardour for discovery still continued. He was readily received into the service of the Catholic king, and sent to the coast of Brazil, where he made the important discovery of the Rio de la Plata. He became the most eminent person of his age for the sciences connected with his favourite pursuits; the construction of maps, geography, and navigation; and, after age had rendered him unfit for the active exertions of a seafaring life, he guided and directed others in this career, and obtained the honourable title of Piloto Mayor of Spain. Afterwards, on the accession of Edward VI. to the throne of England, when the nation caught at last the enthusiasm of maritime adventure, Cabot was invited back to England, and

constituted, by a special deed, Grand Pilot of England, with an ample salary. In this capacity he formed the plan and drew up the instructions for the expedition sent under Sir Hugh Willoughby and Chancellor, to attempt the discovery of India by the north-east. Sebastian, with all his knowledge, and in the course of a long life, never committed to writing any narrative of the voyage to North America. The curious on the continent, however, drew from him in conversation, various particulars, which gave a general idea of the extent and tenor of his discovery. Butrigario, the pope's legate in Spain, told Ramusio that he had much intercourse with him, and found him a very polite and agreeable person; and Peter Martyr mentions in his history, that he had him often at his house, and was quite on an intimate footing with him. In the reports from these different quarters there are discrepances, and even errors, which mark imperfect memory on the part of the narrators; but the general outline of the voyage appears to have been as follows:—The Cabots, like Columbus, held it for their main object to reach Cathay, and the golden regions of India, which had still attached to them all the European ideas of wealth. Sebastian proceeded first to the north, in the hope, that, by turning on that side the boundary of the continent, he might find himself in the expanse of ocean which led to the eastern regions. He reached the latitude of sixty-seven degrees, or, by a more probable account, only of fifty-six degrees; but, finding the sea encumbered with floating ice, and the coast tending back to the eastward, he was either

himself discouraged, or, as others say, overpowered by a mutiny of the sailors. Perhaps there might be a combination of both causes. Retracing his steps, and reaching his former point, he thence proceeded to the southward, still keeping the same object in view. But though this, like the former coast, tended steadily to the westward, it preserved the same unbroken continuity, and gave as little hope as ever of the passage, to find which had been his primary object. Worn out with a voyage of such unusual length for that age, he returned to England. He stated himself in this southern course to have reached the latitude of Gibraltar, and the longitude of Cuba, which would place him near the entrance of the Chesapeake.

It cannot fail to strike us as a remarkable circumstance, that, in all the foreign accounts of this voyage, Sebastian is represented as its mover and sole conductor. The legate even told Ramusio, that he understood the father to have been dead before it was undertaken; yet the charter of Henry, and the record on the map, place it beyond a doubt, that old John was at the head of the whole undertaking. This suggests a disagreeable doubt, whether Sebastian, when abroad, having his own story to tell, did not drop all mention of his worthy father, and even kill him before the time. The hypothesis to which Campbell is driven, of there being two voyages, in one of which were both father and son, and in the other the son only, does not seem very tenable. Nothing of the kind is hinted at in any of the original relations; and the date which Sebastian assigns to that of which he

makes himself the sole conductor, is rather prior than subsequent to the date of the joint voyage.*

It appears that, on the 9th December, 1502, Henry gave a patent to John Elliot and Thomas Ashurst, merchants of Bristol, with John Gonzales and Francis Fernandez, natives of Portugal, to go with English colours in quest of unknown countries.† I have not been able to learn any thing of this voyage, which seems to have escaped the diligent researches of Hackluyt. He communicates the fragment of a letter from Mr Robert Thorne of Bristol, boasting that his father, and Hugh Elliot, another merchant of Bristol, had been the discoverers of Newfoundland; but this, I suspect, is only in respect of having aided in setting forth the Cabots, not of having preceded them.

Another important step in discovery was made by a naval nation of the highest distinction at that era. The Portuguese stood long foremost, and even alone, in tracing a naval career through the ocean. Their efforts, indeed, were for a long period concentrated in that series of exploratory voyages, by which the passage of the Cape was effected, and a path opened into the Indian seas; in the course of which they made the discovery of Brazil. One Portuguese family, however, called at first Costa, and afterwards Cortereal, signalized itself in the career of northern discovery. There is even an authority, not devoid of some weight, according to which a Cortereal, twenty years before Ca-

* Hackluyt, iii. 6—9. Ramusio, iii. Pref. p. 28. Peter Martyr, Dec. iii. ch. 6. Fabyan. Kent's Memoirs of Seamen, i.

† Rapin's History, i. 683.

bot, is said to have sailed from the Azores to Newfoundland; but though this voyage seems more plausible than any of those made by the Scandinavians, it stands yet on too slender evidence to dispute with Cabot and Columbus the glory of discovering America. An expedition, undoubtedly genuine, was that of Gaspar Cortereal, who, in 1500, set sail with two caravels to discover a shorter passage to India and the Spice Islands. He appears first to have reached Newfoundland, whence, pushing on to the north, he came to that great range of coast, to which, from some very superficial observation, he gave the name of Labrador, or the Labourer's coast, which it has ever since retained; though Munster, Ortelius, and others of the early cosmographers, give it, in honour of the discoverer, the name of Corterealis. He found the coast covered with abundance of timber, well stocked with fish, and inhabited by a poor, robust, and hardy race. They are described correctly as skilful archers, clothed in the skins of beasts, and living in caves. They were found very jealous of the chastity of their women. He brought with him several of the inhabitants, though surely not so many as fifty-seven, the number stated by Pedro Pascoal. On reaching lat. 60°, and seeing snow drifting through the air at the close of summer, and the sea beset with huge islands of ice, he determined to postpone farther proceedings till a future season. Much is said of his having discovered a strait called Anian, which was probably one of those entering into Hudson's Bay. He returned, on the whole, with sanguine hopes as to the discovery of a northern passage; and in the following year he

set out again with two vessels, under the sanction and furtherance of the court. The voyage was prosperous till they reached a coast which they called Terra Verde, Greenland; not, however, our Greenland, but some part, more smiling than the rest, of the coast formerly visited. Here the two vessels, overtaken by a violent storm, were completely separated; and that in which Cortereal was not, after long beating about and searching in vain for its consort, was obliged to return to Lisbon without the author of the expedition, who was never more heard of.

Gaspar had a younger brother, Miguel, who, inconsolable for the fate of his brother, obtained permission from the king to sail in search of him. He had with him three vessels, which, on coming to the mouth of the straits, took each a separate passage, appointing a rendezvous, at which they were to meet on the 20th of August. Two of them did there meet; but Miguel was wanting, and was no more seen or heard of. There remained yet a third brother, who eagerly sought to follow in the traces of his lost kinsmen; but the king, who thought he had lost already too much in this bold adventure, interposed his royal prohibition. Since these two gallant and ill-fated youths, no Portuguese appears to have attempted either a passage or a settlement on any part of the coast of America; though the nation engaged early and to a great extent in the Newfoundland fishery.

The next point upon which the continent of America was approached was its southern extremity, from the Gulf of Mexico. The Spaniards, who had begun the career of discovery in so brilliant a manner, sought

long to absorb the whole of the new continent. One of the most eminent of the followers of Columbus was Juan Ponce de Leon. After serving with distinction in a subordinate capacity, he became desirous of a field of action which might be wholly his own. In sailing along the coast of Porto Rico, he had been struck with its attractive aspect, and with symptoms which appeared to portend gold, that almost sole object of Spanish desire. Ovando, under whom he served in Hispaniola, very readily allowed him a detachment with which to try his fortune. Ponce, acting with equal prudence and vigour, soon reduced the island to subjection; and though he did not discover that ample deposit of gold which had been hoped and expected, he did not entirely fail in his search after this precious metal.*

Ponce de Leon having completed this undertaking, had a mind too ardent and active to remain at rest. Another object attracted his desire, and absorbed his whole soul. He was assured by a number of Indians, that in some part of the islands called Bahama, or Lucayos, there was a fountain called Bimini, of such marvellous virtue, that the happy man who bathed in its waters, to whatever period of life he might have reached, rose in the full bloom and vigour of youth. To the discovery of this precious fountain, Ponce devoted his existence. He spent many months sailing along these coasts, landing at every point, and plung-

* Herrera, Dec. i. lib. vii. ch. 9.

ing into every pool, however shallow or muddy, always hoping to rise in that state of blissful renovation which he had been taught to anticipate. The consequence of such long and incessant agitation under a burning sky was, that, instead of the brilliant youth which he so vainly hoped to attain, he brought upon himself all the infirmities of a premature old age. Indeed, by what Oviedo could learn, instead of a second youth, he arrived at a second childhood, and never discovered the same vigour, either of body or mind, as before he entered upon this delusive search. It is seldom, however, that extraordinary efforts of human activity fail of leading to some result.* While Ponce was beating about restlessly from shore to shore in search of the mysterious fountain, he came in view of a more extensive range of land than any formerly seen. It was crowned with magnificent forests, intermingled with flowering shrubs, which presented an enchanting aspect, and to which, therefore, he gave the name of Florida. In navigating along its shore, his ships were violently agitated by the currents arising out of the action of the gulf-stream, which rushes here with concentrated force through the Bahama channels, and from which he gave to the southern cape the name of Corrientes. The Spaniards, however, still continued to attach the idea of island to all the newly-discovered lands; and the pointed and

* Ramusio, iii. 347. Osorio, History of the Portuguese, book i. Barrow's Voyages, 37-48.

peninsulated form which the continent here presents to the Gulf of Mexico made them obstinately continue for some time to attach to Florida the character of insularity. In vain did the natives assure them, that it formed part of a vast continent, of which they even named various nations and provinces. Some years elapsed, according to Herrera, before the Spaniards could learn to view Florida as part of the American continent. When at last they did so, they hesitated not to claim as Florida, and as belonging to Spain, the whole northern continent, as its vast extent was successively discovered. But this pretension was soon met by others, advanced by nations who possessed better means of making their claims effectual; and the name of Florida was obliged to give way before those of Virginia, Carolina, and others, which the prosperous colonies of England imposed upon this extensive line of coast.

Ponce de Leon having at length renounced his unfortunate search after the fountain of youth, determined to make the utmost of his real discovery. He repaired to Spain, and obtained from the king authority to lead an expedition into Florida, with the title of Adelantado, which included the powers of governor and commander-in-chief. Finding, however, Porto Rico disturbed by an insurrection of the Caribes, he was obliged to take the field against them; but, being unequal to his former exertions, he made an unfortunate campaign, and lost much of his former reputation. At length he contrived to equip an expedition for Florida; but his constitution, exhausted by visionary hopes and efforts, being now unfit for the

fatigues of such a voyage, he was obliged to put into Cuba, where he died.*

The Spaniards from Cuba soon found their way to Florida, and made expeditions, of which one object soon came to be the iniquitous practice of carrying off the Indians as slaves. A considerable time elapsed, as we shall see, before attempts began to be made for the actual conquest and occupation of Florida.

While the nations both of the north and the south of Europe had made such vigorous exertions for the discovery of America, the French flag had not yet appeared in the western seas. That nation, though equally powerful and enterprising, had been more attached to feudal usages, and less imbued with the modern maritime and commercial spirit, than any other of modern Europe. A monarch of such spirit as Francis I., however, could not be content to see Charles, his rival, carrying off all the brilliant prizes offered by the new world. He listened readily to the suggestion, that he too should send an expedition to the west, for the discovery of kingdoms and countries unknown. He found himself, however, under the same necessity as Henry, to employ foreign science and skill to guide his fleet into those distant seas. Juan Verazzani, a Florentine, who had distinguished himself by successful cruises against the Spaniards, was sent with a vessel called the Dauphin to the American coast. In the narrative of his voyage

* Herrera, Dec. i. b. 9. c. 10; Dec. ii. c. 8; Dec. iv. b. 4; c. 4, 5, 6. Oviedo ap. Ramusio, iii. 146-7.

which he sends to Francis, Verazzani sets out from the little island or rock near Madeira, called the Desertas. About midway across the Atlantic, he encountered one of those disasters to which navigators of that age, in their comparatively small vessels, were so liable. His little bark had nearly perished. It survived, however, and, completing happily the rest of his voyage, he arrived on a coast which, according to him, was never seen by any either of the ancients or moderns, and which appears to have been some part either of Carolina or Florida. That it was inhabited appeared from the large fires kindled on shore; but he sought in vain for a port into which his vessel could enter. After sailing first south, and then north, in the fruitless search, he determined to put out a boat, and open an intercourse with the natives. They came to the shore in considerable numbers; but as soon as the French landed, and began to follow them, they ran away, turning back, however, with evident signs of wonder and curiosity. At length, being satisfied that they had nothing to fear, they offered victuals to the French, assisted them in drawing their bark on shore, and viewed with surprise and admiration the white colour, the dress, and the whole appearance of this unknown people. They were tall, handsome, swift, perfectly naked, except that various skins and tails of animals were fastened round the middle by a girdle of woven grass, and hung down to the knee. The coast was sandy, rising behind into little hills; but as they proceeded, it became more elevated, and was covered with magnificent woods, not of the common forest-trees, but of the palm, the

cypress, and others unknown to Europe, and which diffused the most delicious perfume. This land was in lat. 34°, which, if correct, would place it about Cape Fear. They now proceeded along the coast, which turned to the eastward, and appeared very populous, but so low and open, that even a boat could not approach it. In this emergency, a young sailor undertook to swim on shore, and open an intercourse with the natives. They crowded to receive him; but just as he had arrived within a few yards of the land, his courage failed, and he attempted to turn back. A high wave, however, met him, and, amid the agitation of fear and of the waters, he was thrown on shore more dead than alive. The natives immediately stripped him naked, and conveyed him to a large fire which they had been busily kindling. His companions in the ships then never doubted that he was about to be roasted alive, and to furnish one of those horrible banquets in which the Indians were supposed to delight. The youth himself was at first of the same opinion; but he was soon consoled, when they merely brought him so near as to place him in a comfortable state of warmth. They viewed with an eager but kindly curiosity the whiteness of his skin, and all the particulars which made him a different being from themselves. On his making signs that he wished to return, they took leave of him with tender embraces, accompanied him to the shore, and kept their eyes intently fixed on him till he reached the vessel.

Verazzani now sailed onward, and reached the coast of Virginia. It was found, like the former, beautiful, and covered with noble trees, which did

not, however, in this colder climate, emit the same agreeable perfume. They found the barks of the natives made of a single tree, not by any instrument either of iron or wood, but hollowed out by the use of fire,—a process more fully observed by subsequent travellers. The men had all fled, and they only succeeded in overtaking two females, of whom one was old, the other young, tall, and handsome. The old woman was soon prevailed upon to eat with relish of the victuals which they offered, and even allowed them to take a boy who was in her arms, for the purpose of carrying him into France; but the young woman threw indignantly on the ground every thing which they tendered to her, and when they attempted to carry her off, uttered such frightful screams, that they were obliged to desist. After sailing a hundred leagues farther, they came to a fine and sheltered bay, surrounded by gentle hills, which received a very great river, (the Hudson?) so deep that loaded vessels might have ascended it; but, dreading accidents, they merely went up in boats, and found a country equally rich and beautiful, which they left with regret. The hills, to their anxious view, appeared to afford some metallic promise. They now sailed fifty leagues eastward, along a coast, (probably that of Long Island,) without suspecting its separation from the continent, and came to an island ten leagues from land, apparently Martha's Vineyard. It was covered with gentle and finely-wooded hills, and reminded them of Rhodes. There soon appeared twenty boats filled with natives, who approached within fifty paces, raising various

cries. After carefully viewing the French, they set up an united shout, expressive of joy and security, and came nearer. The French threw them bells, mirrors, and other little toys, when they no longer hesitated to come on board. Verazzani thought them the finest and handsomest race, as well as the most civilized in their manners, that he had yet seen in America. Their colour was less dark than that of the more southern people, and their forms even approached to the beauty of the antique. They became extremely intimate with the French, who made several excursions with them into the interior of the country, and found it covered with noble woods. They showed, however, an extreme jealousy of their females, whom they would, on no account, allow to enter the French vessel. Even the queen, while her royal husband spent a long time on board, examining the different parts of the vessel, and communicating with the crew by signs and gestures, was left with her ladies in a boat, at a little distance. At length the French took leave of this friendly people, and sailed a hundred and fifty leagues, along a coast running first to the east, and then to the north, which last direction marks that they had now entered upon New England. The country was in general similar to that which they had left, though it gradually became higher, and even sometimes rose into mountains. Other fifty leagues, in the direction of east and north, brought them to a region covered with peculiarly dense and dark woods, (apparently the district of Maine). Here they stopped, and endeavoured to open an intercourse

with the natives, but found them every way the reverse of their last acquaintances. They were alike rough in their persons and dispositions, and repelled every friendly overture. They were tempted, indeed, by the display of articles which the French brought, to accede to a certain species of barter; but they would admit of it on no footing except the following: They came to the shore, at the point where the surf was breaking most violently, while the French boat kept on the outer side, and a rope was passed from one to the other, along which the articles of traffic were conveyed. They would accept of nothing, however, but knives, fishing-hooks, and cutting metal; "ne stimavano *gentilezza* alcuna." While this traffic was going on, they were continually calling to the French on no account to approach the shore, and they closed it by rude gestures indicative of disdain and aversion. There was little temptation to linger here, and the French followed, therefore, a course of fifty leagues farther, during which they counted thirty islands, separated by narrow channels, (pretty evidently those of the Bay of Penobscot). Another course of 150 miles brought them to the land discovered by the Bretons, (British,) in about 50° N. lat., and which is therefore Newfoundland. Verazzani's stores being now exhausted, he took in wood and water, and returned to France.

Verazzani had thus completed a survey of seven hundred leagues of coast, including the whole of that of the United States, and a great part of British America, forming one of the most extended ranges of early discovery. He returned to France in high

hopes and spirits, and laid before Francis plans not only for completing the discovery of the American coast, but for penetrating into the interior of the continent, and also for colonizing some part of this vast and fertile region. That monarch seems to have welcomed the proposal with his characteristic ardour, since Ramusio speaks of the "immense liberality" with which he was disposed to favour it, and from which the most important results were expected. Verazzani did indeed set out on another voyage; but its records are equally brief and fatal. Ramusio gives neither date nor place, nor country, but states, that having landed with some of his crew, he was seized by the savages, killed and devoured in the presence of his companions on board, who sought in vain to give any assistance. Such was the fate of one of the most eminent navigators of that age, whom Forster ranks as similar to Cook, both as to his exploits during life, and the dreadful mode of his death. But Verazzani, though possessed of many great qualities, cannot be placed on a level with the first navigator of modern times. I should even hope that this analogy fails as to the peculiar fate which he is reported to have suffered. That all the Indians were cannibals was a standing belief of that age, of which the slightest appearance or presumption was held conclusive. But closer observation has, in almost every instance, proved, that though their treatment of enemies and captives was abundantly direful, it scarcely ever assumed this peculiarly dreadful form. That Verazzani perished amid flame and torture is but too probable; but I do not think that

he perished in that fearful manner which his annalist has recorded.*

The gloomy impression produced by the tragic fate of Verazzani seems to have deterred others for some time from such enterprises. At length Jacques Cartier, a bold seaman of St Malo, proposed another voyage, and was readily supplied with two ships, under the direction of the Sieur de Melleraye, then Vice-Admiral of France. He set sail on the 20th April, 1534, and on the 10th May came in view of Cape Bonavista. As large masses of ice, however, were still floating about the coast, he deemed it wise to enter a harbour which he called St Catherine, and to remain there ten days. The sea then becoming favourable, he came out, and stood to the north. The first striking object was an island named the Island of Birds, from the prodigious flights with which it was covered. They appeared as if they were planted, and standing like crops of grain upon it and the surrounding sea. In his second voyage, he says, there would have been enough to have loaded the whole navy of France, without any sensible vacancy being left.

Cartier now sailed along the whole northern coast of Newfoundland, giving names to all its capes and harbours. He found it barren in the extreme, and considers it a great license to call it Newfound*land*, when there was not land enough to have loaded a cart; nothing but rocks and sand, covered with arid

* Ramusio, iii. 348-52.

stones: he verily thought it must have been the land assigned to Cain. The natives were tall, stout, and fierce; they were clothed in skins of beasts and fishes, had their bodies painted, and used canoes made of bark. A French boat, which had been sent on shore, was surrounded by five of their canoes, when they offered the usual savage welcome by dancing and raising cries of joy. The French, however, afraid of their superior numbers, discharged some guns, which caused them to fly with the utmost speed. Next day they appeared in nine barks, but fled at sight of the French, at the same time looking back and showing skins, with which they were willing to traffic. On receiving assurance of safety, they gladly approached, and, seeing the knives and toys with which the French were provided, began dancing with all their might, and setting up loud shouts of joy. In the purchase of these much-prized objects they not only expended all the skins with which they had come prepared, but took from their persons those with which they were scantily covered, and went off stark-naked in search of more. Proceeding along the coast, the French came to a place where they were visited by forty barks, having on board about two hundred men, women, and children. They received with equal delight the slender gifts which the foreigners bestowed upon them. The young ladies were at first kept in the background, within a grove; but two or three having contrived to get forward, received such handsome presents, that the other damsels were presently brought up, in the hope of coming in for a share.

Cartier thought these the most miserable mortals he had ever beheld. They wore nothing but a scanty covering of poor skins, the value of which could in no case be rated above fivepence. They lived solely on fish, and on some berries and small grains which grew spontaneously; and they had no habitation, except their barks, which, when they went on shore, they turned upside down, and slept beneath them.

Cartier having sailed along the northern coast of Newfoundland, and passed through the Straits called afterwards Belleisle, found himself in a wide and open sea, which no navigator, except, perhaps, Cortereal, appears before to have reached. All had sailed across from the coast of Newfoundland to that of Labrador, or Nova Scotia, considering the passages separating them only as gulfs. To the west he now saw a wide and open field of discovery; but the season was far advanced, and the east wind, which was driving him with violence towards these unknown seas and coasts, would have rendered his return to France precarious. He determined to reserve till another voyage and season the farther prosecution of this object.

When Cartier returned to France, and reported the prospects opened to him by the sea to the west of Newfoundland, he found the Court still ready to second his enterprise. A larger expedition was equipped next spring, consisting of three vessels, of 120, of 70, and of 40 tons. They were solemnly prepared for the expedition by confession, and receiving the sacrament in the church of St Malo.

They proceeded direct to Newfoundland, which they rounded by the same line as in the former voyage. On coming to the sea on the west, and proceeding to explore it, Cartier soon found himself in a broad gulf, to which he gave the name of St Lawrence, which it has since retained. What he called so, however, was only the channel between the island of Anticosti and the opposite Labrador coast. On reaching its eastern cape he opened a communication with the natives, who informed him, that this gulf gradually narrowed till it terminated by receiving a large river coming from a vast and unexplored distance in the interior of a great continent. Two days' sail above this island was the river and territory of Saguenay, beyond which was Canada, having passed which, and ascended the river, he would come to Hochelaga, a populous territory, at the highest known point of the river. Thus instructed, Cartier sailed up the gulf, which gradually narrowed to a river, and here he found the channel divided by a long and populous island, the same afterwards called Orleans, situated immediately below Quebec. He was waited upon by Donnaconna, the ruler of Canada, with about five hundred subjects, of all ages and sexes. Donnaconna began first a long harangue, or, as it is termed, a preaching, the terms of which were not at all understood, but it appeared to be of the most friendly import; the whole party then raised three tremendous howls, as another sign of welcome. Donnaconna crowned the whole by a very high and singular gift; for having brought a boy and girl, who, the French were informed, were

his son and daughter, he made a long preaching, and bestowed them upon Cartier. As soon, however, as the French intimated their intention of proceeding upwards to Hochelaga, every persuasion was employed to induce them to desist,—the ice, the dangers of the navigation, the want of any object of interest. As Cartier persisted, one of the chiefs hinted that the prince and princess would never have been bestowed but under the understanding that he would not undertake this unwelcome journey; but Cartier denied any such interpretation, and insisted upon returning their Highnesses, if this condition were annexed to the donation of them. He was then assured that they had been a free gift; but another expedient was now tried. Three men, painted black in the most frightful manner, with horns upon their heads, came out in a little boat, and rowed round the vessel, making various unintelligible gestures and orations. Donnaconna came out himself to expound this mystery. They were, it seems, messengers from Cudruaigny, their supreme deity, sent with the doleful tidings, that if the French attempted to go up to Hochelaga, they would all inevitably perish. Cartier, however, scoffed at this celestial interposition in his favour, after which no farther attempts were made to detain him. He was obliged, however, from the diminishing depth, and the obstructions on the river, to betake himself first to his smallest vessel, and then to two boats. In sailing upwards, he was delighted with the aspect of the country, which appeared to him one of the finest he ever beheld. The banks were crowned with the noblest trees, among which were

vines, standing as thick as if planted by human hands. The grapes, however, were neither so large nor so agreeable to the taste as in France, which might, he thought, be only from want of culture. On his way he met with a great lord, who presented him with another princess, eight years old; and who endeavoured also, but in vain, to terrify him with the dangers of going up to Hochelaga. At length Cartier reached that long-sought-for term of his voyage. He found it, as measured by the Indian standard, a considerable town. It was built in a circular form, enclosed by a strong palisade of stakes crossing each other, and forming a series of pyramids. There were not above forty or fifty houses, but each was divided into a number of apartments, where separate families slept, while there was a common hall in the centre, where they took their meals, and spent the day in common. They had large stores of dried fish and grain, with melons, cucumbers, and other fruits. They soon poured down to the number of about a thousand, and received the French with the usual welcome of preaching, dancing, and howling; they even wept for joy at seeing the presents which their visitors drew forth. Cartier was then led to the largest house, in which resided the prince, an old infirm man, scarcely distinguished by his dress from his subjects, only that he wore a cap composed of skins of animals that were esteemed of peculiar richness. He seemed, however, the object of singular veneration, since a number of sick were brought to receive the benefit of his touch.

Cartier ascended the lofty hill behind Hochelaga, which he called Mont-real, a name which has since ad-

hered to the place itself. To the north he saw numerous ranges of mountains, interspersed with fine plains, capable of the highest cultivation. Beyond these, he was told, lay another great river, flowing also from the westward (the Ottawa). On looking up the St Lawrence, it appeared broken by a high waterfall; but its broad and spacious channel was seen extending fifteen leagues higher, when it disappeared amid three circular mountains. The natives informed him, that in its upper course there were two other waterfalls, beyond which the river was navigable for the space of three moons.

Cartier now returned down the river, and found his ships where he had left them; but the crews were soon assailed by a calamity of the most dreadful and unexpected nature. They were assailed with an unknown and terrible disease, caught, as they imagined, by infection from the natives, many of whom also laboured under it; but the symptoms,—swollen and putrefied gums, discoloured blood, and general debility,—mark it for the scurvy, a malady which has since rendered itself so fatally familiar to the European mariner. It went on continually spreading, till there were not three in all the ships that had wholly escaped it. The living had not strength to bury the dead: unable to dig graves in the frozen ground, they were obliged merely to lay them under the snow. Cartier was also greatly alarmed lest the natives, whose cordiality had by degrees abated, should discover the infirm state of his crew, and be tempted to seize both upon them and the ships. He used the most extraordinary efforts to conceal it from them. He pretended that he

was carrying on great repairs in his vessel, and could receive no one on board; but whenever any of the Indians came round the ship, all who could move were made to come on deck, and go busily backward and forward, the captain calling to those below that he would beat them heartily if they did not work harder. At the same time, such as could stir an arm, had pieces of wood put into it, with which they made all the noise in their power. He did not neglect also such means as occurred as best fitted for obtaining a cure of the malady. He caused an image of the Virgin to be set up on a tree at a little distance from the bank, where he ordered mass to be celebrated, and all who were able to walk there in procession. He made a vow also, if he should ever return to France, to go in pilgrimage to the shrine of Madonna de Rocquemado. All these vows and ceremonies were of no avail, till he observed one of the natives, who, after being ill, had rapidly recovered his health. On earnest inquiry, a species of tree was pointed out (the white pine), a decoction of the leaves and bark of which was of sovereign virtue in this malady; and, accordingly, by the use of it all those on board the ships were soon placed in a state of convalescence.

The French commander now thought of returning home; as a preliminary to which he hatched the nefarious scheme of smuggling on board Donnaconna, and conveying him to France. Poor Donnaconna was not very easily caught, and even took to his bed as an apology for not visiting the French. Various steps were taken to reassure him. One of the attendants having proposed that they should carry off a man who had given them some offence, it was answered,

that they did not wish to carry off any one, except a few boys to learn the language. The suspicions of Donnaconna being thus lulled, he was tempted, on occasion of a splendid fete, when the French set up a brilliant cross, and hung out all their colours, to venture on board. Presently he was seized and confined in the cabin. The Indians at first took to flight, and hid themselves in the forests; but during the night they came round the ship, howling and lamenting in the most frightful manner over the fate of their lost prince. Next day they appeared again, and bitterly reproached the French for having killed him; and on the fact being denied, asked then to be allowed to see him. Donnaconna was brought upon deck, and instructed to say, that he was well treated, that he went willingly to see the king of France, from whom he expected a great present, and would return in ten or twelve moons. The people were satisfied, and raised three shouts of joy. The king, who seems really to have experienced good treatment, received various presents, which he distributed among them, while they, in return, brought a large store of provisions for his use during the voyage. Cartier now set sail, and arrived at St Malo on the 6th July, 1536.

The arrival of Cartier, and his presentation of the Indian chief, produced a strong sensation in the court of France. The Sieur de Roberval, a gentleman of extensive property in Picardy, undertook to form a settlement on a great scale in this newly-discovered country. Francis invested him liberally with titles, creating him viceroy and lieutenant-general of Canada, Hochelaga, Norimbega, and all the names which had

been bestowed upon these shores. But this expedition, notwithstanding its pomp of preparation, produced nothing. Cartier, in 1540, was sent forward to prepare the way for the main armament. He did not carry out with him Donnaconna, who had died in France; and this failure laid the foundation of an unkindly feeling on the part of the natives, which ripened into many acts of open hostility. Cartier, however, built a small fort, which he called Charlebourg, and which formed the first European establishment in this part of America. Having waited, however, two years in vain for his principal, and being annoyed by the natives, he set sail for France. At Newfoundland, to his great surprise, he met Roberval coming out in full equipment; but Cartier, now disgusted with the whole business, contrived to give him the slip, and made his way home. Roberval proceeded, and made some attempts at discovery; but he soon returned to France, at what time or for what reason is not recorded. He undertook another expedition in 1549, accompanied by his brother; but both are said to have perished, without any details being preserved of this catastrophe.

CHAPTER II.

SPANISH EXPEDITIONS INTO FLORIDA.

Florida becomes known as Part of the Continent.—Expedition of Pamphilo Narvaez.—War with the Indians.—Various Adventures.—Alvaro Nunez reaches the Gulf of Mexico.—Expedition of Fernando de Soto.—Various Countries through which he passes.—His Return.—His Death.

THE brilliant fortune of the first adventurers who had drawn the rich golden prizes of Mexico and Peru, kindled throughout Spain a general hope and excitation. The wide circuit of the shores of the new world embraced other regions, which might contain in their bosom treasures as immense, and might raise their conquerors to the rank of kings. Spain contained abundance of daring spirits, who were prompt to embark their persons, their fortunes, and their all, in the career of American discovery and conquest.

Florida, after its first discovery by Ponce de Leon, had been visited by a number of Spanish vessels, and some idea attained of the magnitude of the continent

to which its name was attached. It was found to stretch indefinitely to an unknown extent; and no reason appeared why it should not afford mines as ample as those which had enriched the early adventurers. Florida therefore became for some time the grand theatre of Spanish enterprise.

Pamphilo de Narvaez was a distinguished, though not a fortunate leader in the early expeditions to America. Velazquez, governor of Cuba, finding that Cortes, whom he had employed in the conquest of Mexico, secure in the attachment of his own adherents, disregarded his orders, sent Narvaez, with a very superior force, to chastise this presumption, and assume the command himself. Narvaez, brave, but full of blind confidence, allowed himself to be surprised and defeated by Cortes, when most of his troops went over to the victorious standard. Notwithstanding this unfortunate and mortifying result, Narvaez possessed still great influence at home and favour at court, and was thus enabled to equip an expedition for Florida on a considerable scale. With this he hoped to efface the memory of his former disgrace, and rival the glory of his fortunate competitor. He was invested with the pompous title of Adelantado, which included the functions both of governor and commander in chief, and went commissioned, first to conquer, and then to rule the extensive territory which reaches from the Cape das Palmas to the extreme point of Cape Florida.

In June, 1527, Narvaez, with an armament of five vessels and 600 men, set sail from St Lucar. Alvaro Nunez, surnamed Capo de Vacca, acted as his

treasurer, and is the author of the only narrative which has been preserved of this expedition.

The fleet touched first at the Island of Dominica, where it remained for some days, to supply itself with provisions, and particularly with horses. Here no less than a hundred and forty members of the expedition, swayed by invitations from the islanders, and probably also by a dread of the unknown and barbarous shore to which they were tending, declined proceeding farther,—a course which their chiefs seem to have had no power to prevent. The fleet proceeded to St James's, in Cuba, where they continued for some time, refitting and taking in supplies. Alvaro being sent with one of his ships to a port at some distance for provisions, had gone on shore with some of his men, when they were attacked by a hurricane so tremendous, that the like had scarcely ever been witnessed even in these climates. The walls and houses continually falling round them, made it impossible to remain in the city without the utmost peril. They issued forth, seven or eight linked together, by which position alone they could avoid being carried before the wind, and they sought refuge in the woods; but here the trees falling, or torn up by the roots on every side, caused almost equal alarm. All night they seemed to hear loud cries, with the sound of flutes, drums, and trumpets, which doubtless were only the varied voices of the tempest. In the morning it fell; but there appeared such a scene of desolation as they had never before witnessed. The trees lay strewed on the ground, and every leaf and plant destroyed. On

turning to the sea, they beheld a spectacle still more doleful; for instead of their vessel, only some of its planks were floating on the face of the deep. They searched long for any remnants which might have been cast ashore, but found only a little boat, carried to the top of a tree, some cloths torn in pieces, and two bodies of men, so mangled that they could not be recognized. No time was lost in rejoining the main body, which, having found a harbour, had suffered less dreadfully. The armament was now reduced to 400 men and 80 horses, and Narvaez, in compliance with the general opinion, determined not to attempt landing in Florida till the depth of the winter was past.*

On the 20th February, 1528, the armament set sail, and, after having suffered considerably from tempest in coasting along Cuba, ran across from the Havanna to the shore of Florida. On the 12th April they found themselves at the mouth of an open bay, where there was a village. They landed, hoisted the king's standard, claimed, and seemed to consider themselves as having had full right and ground to expect implicit obedience to his authority. The narrator even asserts that they obtained such obedience; but this is in no harmony with his own subsequent narration, that when the natives did appear, they made long discourses, with many signals and gestures, of which the Spaniards could interpret

* Cabeca de Vacca, Alvar Nugnez, Relacion de los Naufragios, 2. Ramusio, iii. 259.

nothing, except that they contained urgent intimations to depart, and vehement threats in case of noncompliance; but, finding probably that they were not strong enough to execute these menaces, they retreated into the interior. In this village there is said to have been a house so large that it could contain three hundred persons.

An excursion was now made into the interior, and another village was visited, towards which the same domineering system was observed. Seeing a number of chests in which the Indians preserved the dead bodies of their relations, the governor conceiving this to be a species of idolatry, caused both chests and bodies to be reduced to ashes,—a proceeding very little calculated to conciliate the Floridans. The avidity of the Spaniards was, however, very strongly excited by the view of some fine cloths, and especially of some golden ornaments worn by the Indians; in reply to their eager inquiries respecting which, Apalachen, a country situated at some distance in the interior, was referred to as the quarter whence were derived these and all the other articles seen to be desirable in the eyes of the Spaniards.

It was now time for the governor to consider what course he was to pursue in exploring and conquering Florida. Miruelo, a pilot whom they brought from Cuba, had undertaken to guide them into a secure and commodious harbour, instead of which he had brought them into a mere open road, and now declared himself quite out of his reckoning, and at a loss whither to steer. Narvaez, whose mind was full of the reported wealth of Apalachen, then proposed that they should at once push into the interior, leav-

ing the vessels to find their way at leisure into this or any other convenient port. Alvaro, the narrator, supported the directly opposite opinion. He observed, that they were entering a savage and almost uninhabited country, of which they had not the slightest knowledge; they were entering it as dumb persons, who could not make the natives understand a single word, or obtain from them the least information. He urged, therefore, that they should reimbark and sail on, till they should find a secure harbour in a fertile country, from which, as a basis, they might penetrate into the interior. Only the secretary supported this opinion; all the rest, dazzled with the hope of wealth, and impressed with the dangers of the sea, which, being recently felt, appeared more dreadful than any they could encounter on land, cordially seconded the governor's proposal. Alvaro still remaining obstinate, Narvaez observed, that since he was so dreadfully alarmed at the idea of marching into the country, he might take charge of the ships, which he deemed so much safer a task. The Castilian pride of Alvaro took fire. He declared, that though he did not expect that they would ever again see the ships, or the ships them, but that they would leave their bones on this savage earth, he was determined to share every extremity with his countrymen, rather than expose his honour to the slightest imputation. The fleet was therefore committed to an officer of the name of Caravallo, and all preparations were made for the interior expedition.*

* Ramusio, iii. 260. Herrera, Dec. iv. lib. 4. ch. 4.

On the 1st of May, 1528, the Spaniards, three hundred strong, of whom forty were mounted, and with an allowance of two pounds of biscuit and half a pound of pork to each man, set forth to explore the depths of this vast continent. They travelled fifteen days without seeing house or habitation. No long time was required to consume their biscuit and pork, after which they became solely dependent on some wild palm trees. Amid the exhaustion to which this hungry toil reduced them, they were obliged to spend a day in crossing a broad and rapid river, at the opposite side of which they found a village. Here, in answer to their eager inquiries respecting Apalachen, the Indians informed them that the Apalachens were their own enemies, and that they were ready to aid in whatever might be undertaken against that people. After having held some friendly communication and obtained guides, the Spaniards proceeded; but soon reached another river still more rapid, and which could be crossed only by constructing a large canoe for the purpose. John Velasco, a bold horseman, having attempted to swim across, was drowned along with his horse. This first loss cast a considerable gloom over their minds; however the horse, being found by the Indians, was made to afford the only hearty meal they had enjoyed for many days. They had still a long march to perform, over tracts sometimes mountainous and sometimes marshy, encumbered with large trees blown down by the tempests, and often blocking up the road. At length, on the 26th of June, they arrived in sight of a village, which was an-

nounced as Apalachen. Joy took possession of their hearts, and they returned fervent thanks to Heaven that they had come to the end of this long and dreary journey, and of the heavy labour and gnawing hunger which they had endured; that they had reached a region of abundance and wealth, such as this had been painted.

Narvaez desired Alvaro, with fifty infantry and nine cavalry, to enter and take possession of the town. This he easily effected, as all the men were absent, probably on a hunting excursion, and only women and children left in the place. The warriors, however, soon appeared, and were neither little nor agreeably surprised to find their abodes in the possession of a band of strangers. They showed their sentiments by letting fly a shower of arrows, one of which killed a Spanish horse. When fairly attacked, however, they were unable to bear the shock of European troops, and retreated into the woods. They appeared two days after in a pacific attitude, and besought, that if they could not recover their houses, they might at least have their wives and children. This was granted, the Spaniards only retaining one of their Caciques as a hostage. It was soon found, however, that their enmity was in no degree abated. Next day they made an attack so furious, that they succeeded in setting fire to some of the houses; and though again quickly repulsed, fled with such celerity into the woods and marshes, that only one could be killed. Next day an equally brisk attack was made, with a similar result.

The Spaniards had not remained long at Apala-

chen, when they became statisfied that the brilliant wealth which had lured them on to this laborious and perilous expedition was a perfect chimera. The country was mountainous and rugged, covered with extensive marshes, which, both from their depth and the large trees strewed across them, were exceedingly difficult to pass. On strict inquiry, it appeared that the farther they proceeded in this direction they would find it always the more barren and rugged. They now began to feel themselves in evil plight. Though the Indians could not face them in the field, they hemmed them closely in, and every man or horse which straggled from the main body was overwhelmed with a shower of arrows. At length it was learned, that to the south was the country of Aute (now called the Bay of St Mark), which was situated on the seacoast, and abounded in maize. So valuable did these comforts now appear, that the Spaniards, renouncing all their chimeras of gold and conquest, determined to set out in search of the coast of Aute.

The journey was free neither from difficulty nor danger. They had to cross lagoons and marshes deeper and more encumbered than any they had hitherto encountered. On the second day, while they were struggling through, with the water up to their breast, the air was suddenly darkened by clouds of arrows, shot by invisible hands. These were the Indians, who had lodged themselves along the banks of the lake, or behind the trees which floated on its surface. With bows eleven or twelve spans long, and as thick as a man's arm, they discharged arrows to the

distance of two hundred yards with almost unerring precision, and such force, that they penetrated the thickest armour, and grievously wounded both man and horse. Sometimes even a single wound caused immediate death. The Indians, when seen, being tall, naked, and moving with prodigious swiftness, had almost the appearance of supernatural beings. No movement of resistance or attack could be made till the Spaniards were extricated from the lagoon; and even then the ground was so encumbered, that the cavalry could not act, and it was only by dismounting and pursuing the enemy on foot, that it became possible to drive them to a little distance. They soon re-appeared, and allowed the Spaniards no rest, till after their stock of arrows was exhausted. The expedition then proceeded without farther molestation, and in nine days from its last departure arrived at Aute. The natives had abandoned the place; but a good store of maize was found, and after another day's march they came to the banks of a river which appeared to open at some distance below into a broad arm of the sea.

The situation of the Spaniards was now such as called for the most serious reflection. All their brilliant hopes had vanished. Nearly a third of their number had perished. More than a third of those remaining laboured under disease, which was gaining so rapidly as to make it certain that a continuance of these laborious marches through a hostile country would place the whole on the sick-list. There was thus every reason to fear, that either in attempting to

retrace their steps, or to march along the coast in search of their fleet, the whole would perish. A general meeting was called, and every one was asked what he had to propose. After long deliberation, there appeared only one resource which afforded a gleam of hope; this was to construct little barks, and sail along the coast till they should find their fleet. It was difficult to conceive a resource more forlorn. They had neither knowledge of ship-building, nor any implements of the art, nor any materials out of which sails, ropes, and rigging could be constructed. Still the plan had this one recommendation, that every thing else was utterly desperate. They therefore applied themselves to the task, and called upon Heaven, and upon Necessity, the mother of invention, to aid them. One of them, out of wooden pipes and the skins of wild beasts, contrived to make a pair of bellows, by the operation of which their stirrups, spurs, and cross-bows, were converted into nails, saws, and hatchets. Their shirts, cut open and sewed together, made sails; the juice of a species of pine was a substitute for tar; the woolly part of the palm-tree served as oakum; its fibres, with loose hair, formed a species of rope. A horse was killed every three days, and its flesh distributed, partly to the working hands, partly as a dainty to the sick. In short, with such ardour did the work proceed, that having begun on the 4th of August, by the 22d of September they had completed five boats, in each of which were embarked from forty to fifty persons; but they were so crowded, that they could not move or turn in the boat, of which not more than a fourth

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part was above the water. In this plight, however, it behoved them to sail.*

After proceeding six days, a favourable circumstance occurred. On approaching an island, they descried five canoes belonging to Indians, who immediately abandoned them. The canoes being taken and attached to their boats, enabled the Spaniards to place themselves in a somewhat better condition. They sailed on, however, thirty days without finding any secure haven, or opportunity of refreshment. The scarcity of victuals was now felt; and that of water was so extreme, that many were driven to drink sea-water, which, when taken in any quantity, proved fatal. Their sufferings were aggravated by a severe storm, which continued for six days; at the end of which they seemed on the point of perishing, when, on turning a point, they discovered a fine and secure bay, with a considerable village. Here they were received most cordially and hospitably: before each door stood vessels of water, from which they quenched their thirst, and they enjoyed a hearty meal of roasted fish. Mutual presents were exchanged, and such a cordial intercourse established, that Narvaez agreed to spend the night under the roof of the Cacique. This calm was of short duration. At midnight the village was attacked by a hostile tribe of Indians; the Cacique fled with all his people, and the Spaniards were left to maintain alone a desperate contest. The governor

* Naufragios, p. 6-9. Herrera, Dec. iv. 6-9, lib. 4. ch. 6. Ramusio, iii. 262-3.

himself and all his people were wounded more or less severely, before the enemy could be beat off; and they had no choice left but to re-embark. They touched afterwards at another populous bay; but being involved in a quarrel with the natives, respecting two of their people who had been lured away, were obliged again to put out to sea. Their situation became now every moment more critical. Their remnant of provisions was drawing fast to a close, and the shattered barks could scarcely be got forward. That of the governor being the best manned, now began pushing on at a rate with which the rest were unable to keep pace. Alvaro called out to ask orders how he was to proceed; to which Narvaez answered, that the time was past for giving or receiving orders, and that it rested with every man to save his life as he best could; he then pushed on, and was soon out of sight. Alvaro, with another of the barks, continued the voyage for four days; but having only half a handful of maize daily for each, and encountering severe weather, they were reduced to the most extreme distress. On the evening of the fourth day the crew sunk entirely, and fell down half dead over each other. Alvaro being alone capable of any exertion, the master called to him, that he must take the helm, as he himself would certainly die that night. Alvaro took the post, but after a few hours' rest the master resumed it. Towards morning they heard the sound of breakers, and found the vessel in six fathoms water, which led to the hope of being near land. Daylight confirmed this hope, and, after a severe shock in crossing the breakers, the boat was

got near to the land, and the exhausted crew crept on shore upon their hands and feet. Here they kindled a fire, cooked the maize which they had still left, and began to feel their strength and spirits revive.

Alvaro desired Lope d'Oviedo, the most vigorous of the company, to mount a tree and see what land it was on which they had been thrown. Oviedo reported that it was an island, and so well cultivated, that it appeared almost a Christian land. He was then desired to advance a little into the country, though with caution. He soon found a village, with only women and children in it; but three archers speedily appeared, with others behind, who, following Oviedo, quickly reached the shore, and formed a circle of about a hundred round our party. They were well-armed and tall, and, to the alarmed eyes of the Spaniards, appeared almost gigantic. Alvaro, who had not six men that could rise from the ground, saw clearly that he had nothing to hope from resistance, and that his only course was to endeavour to propitiate the strangers. This he sought to do by courtesy, and by presenting them with those toys in which savages delight. He met a most kind and gracious return; the Indians presented him with arrows, their surest pledge of confidence; they regretted much having no provisions with them, but promised by next morning to return with a copious supply.

The Indians fulfilled their engagement, and both this day and the following brought fresh stores of fish, roots, and other productions of the soil. Alvaro, having formed a stock of these sufficient to last for some time, determined to set sail and pursue his voyage.

For this purpose it was a matter of great labour, in their weak state, to loosen the boat out of the sand in which it was fixed, and drag it afloat; in doing which it was even necessary to strip themselves naked, throwing their clothes into the boat. A fresh calamity here overtook them, more dreadful than any former one. A violent wave overset the boat, which sunk with all the clothes, and carried down three of the Spaniards; the rest with difficulty reached the shore. They threw themselves naked on the sand; and their former condition, deemed so wretched, appeared almost happiness when compared with that extremity of misery at which they had now arrived. Their destitution was utter; all the little they had was gone down, and with it every hope and chance of deliverance. As they looked at the emaciated bodies of each other, in which every bone could be counted, each felt sympathy for his companions, mingled with a more intense feeling of his own misery. While they lay in this state, the Indians came up with a fresh supply of provisions; but at the view of their changed and dreadful condition, set up loud cries of lamentation, which were heard at a great distance, and were continued for half an hour without intermission. As soon as their plaint had somewhat abated, Alvaro asked his companions (without fear of being understood by the Indians), what was to be done in this extremity, and whether they ought not to ask shelter from strangers who showed so tender a concern for their sufferings. There happened, however, to be several of the party who had accompanied Cortez in his expedition to Mexico, and had seen from a dis-

tance the dreadful pomp with which their countrymen had been sacrificed in the temple of the Mexican god of war. These adjured Alvaro, by all that was sacred, to abide every extremity, rather than deliver them into the hands of men from whom they might expect a fate of similar horror. Alvaro looked round him. His companions were lying stretched on the sand, on the point of perishing, without any human hope or aid, except that dreaded one against which he was so solemnly warned. His position was manifestly quite desperate, but for the Indians; and their tender lamentations, with the kindness and pity which beamed from their eyes, made it surely at least possible, that their intentions might not be of the horrible nature now suggested. Disregarding, therefore, the terrors and remonstrances of his comrades, he related his disaster to the Indians, and entreated the shelter of their hospitable roof. The Indians gave the most cordial consent, only proposing that they should remain for a short time round the fire which had here been kindled, till they should hasten and prepare for their reception. In a few hours they returned, and then led, or rather carried, the Spaniards to their village, scarcely allowing their feet to touch the ground. They had kindled large fires at short distances, where the naked and shivering bodies of the Spaniards had from time to time the heat restored to them. On reaching the village, it was found that a house, of the slight materials used in the country, had been specially constructed for them, and had been brought, by large fires, into a comfortable temperature. All this care and kindness abated in no degree the panic

of the Spaniards, to whom it appeared, that these were only arrangements for placing their bodies in a state which might render them fit to be placed on the altar of the Floridan deities. The Indians bid them a cordial good-night, and, retiring to their own habitations, began, according to the custom of the country, to sing and dance through the evening; but these cheerful sounds, instead of tranquillizing the Spaniards, heightened their alarm, being deemed only the festal pomp which was to celebrate their immolation. They lay sleepless, seeming to feel at every moment the sacrificial knife stuck in their breasts. It was not till morning dawned that a gleam of hope began to enter their minds. The Indians then entered with a plentiful breakfast; and the same kindness being continued from day to day, the alarms of the Spaniards were at length composed.* They learned soon after, that there were other Spaniards at no great distance, who proved to be the crew of another bark that had been shipwrecked, though not in so disastrous a manner. These had preserved their clothes, though only the single set which they had on their persons; so that they could communicate nothing to mitigate the extreme want of this necessary under which the companions of Alvaro laboured.

Fate did not cease to persecute this unfortunate crew. There befel such a series of cold and tempest, that the Indians could neither find the roots on which they ordinarily subsisted, nor carry on their fishery

* Naufragios, 14. Ramusio, iii. 263-4.

with advantage. A severe scarcity ensued, which fell with peculiar weight on the strangers, who could expect nothing from the Indians, and had neither the same skill nor means to provide for themselves. Five of them, who were in a detached station on the coast, were reduced to such an extremity, that they betook themselves to the horrible remedy of devouring each other; which they continued till there remained only one, who survived only because "there was nobody to eat him." The Indians were shocked beyond measure on learning this affair, and ever after viewed the whole body of the Europeans with quite an altered eye. Their condition became thus always worse and worse, so that, in the course of the season, famine and disease had reduced their number from eighty to fifteen. The Indians were at the same time attacked with a pestilential malady, which carried off half of them. Under the deep distress which this occasioned, a superstitious idea seized them, that all the calamities of this dreadful winter had originated in a magic and malignant influence exercised by the strangers. They took it therefore into deliberation, whether they should put them to death; but an old Indian very reasonably argued, that if the Spaniards had possessed this supernatural power, they would surely have used it in protecting themselves; whereas the fact was, that they had suffered still more severely than the Indians. So just a view of the subject carried conviction to the minds of the savages. The Spaniards had, however, entirely lost their former favour; they were reduced to the station of slaves, and were obliged to perform the most labori-

ous offices, particularly that of digging the earth, and searching at the bottom of the marshes for the roots on which they subsisted. To this indeed was added the function of physicians, which they were called upon to exercise. In vain did they plead their profound ignorance of the healing art; no credit was given to this averment; and, after persuasion had been used in vain, notice was given to them, that all allowance of food was to cease till they should enter on their medical functions. Thus starved into doctors, they at length began their practice, which was exceedingly simple, being modelled on that of the Indians. They merely blew upon the patients, and uttered Spanish words, which were considered as magical; when, to their utter astonishment, all the patients declared that from that moment they felt the greatest and most sensible relief. As the success of their practice, however, did not bring any improvement in their situation, Alvaro contrived to make his escape to the continent, where he set on foot a petty traffic, which succeeded wonderfully. It consisted in carrying into the interior shells, marine plants, and other productions of the sea, for which he brought in exchange, hides, red ochre for the savage toilet, flints for arrow-heads, and cane for arrows. The perpetual hostility of the natives among themselves caused them to stand much in need of a foreign and neutral hand to carry on these transactions. Alvaro, in his capacity of merchant, was therefore well and courteously treated, and enjoyed full personal liberty.

In this manner our narrator spent several years, during which his object, as may be supposed, was

not to remain in this miserable exile, but to obtain such information as might enable him to reach the distant points of the South Sea and Mexico, the only channel by which he could hope to revisit his native country. He was anxious also to make an arrangement with two or three companions, to share with him the toils and perils of this long expedition. At length he agreed with Andrea Dorante and Alonzo de Castiglio, two others of the principal officers, to join him in this grand and daring adventure. They fell in at first, however, with a nation more barbarous than any among whom they had sojourned. The country being desolate, and the people unacquainted with any species of agriculture, they devoured eagerly the most loathsome food, ants' eggs, worms, lizards, serpents, even fish-bones and wood; and our traveller verily believes if there had been stone in the country, they would have eaten it. They are said to have been in the truly barbarous habit of exposing all their female children; and when interrogated on the subject, they argued, that within their own tribe the ties of consanguinity were so close, that girls could not be married there without a breach of propriety; and that to marry them to their enemies would be affording to the latter the means of multiplying and increasing their power. When wives were wanted, they procured them, either by violence or purchase, from their neighbours, and devolved upon them the most laborious offices. Amid all their misery, they spent the greater part of their time in singing and dancing, especially during the only period of the year when they enjoyed plenty, which was

during the harvest of a fruit which they called Tune. These Indians converted the Spaniards into slaves, employing them in the most laborious offices, and often leaving them four days without food, for which they offered no plea but necessity, and no consolation, but that they would have plenty during the season of Tune. That season in fact brought to them a permanent deliverance; for, amid the tumultuous festivity to which it gave rise, they contrived to escape, and find refuge among a people farther to the westward. Here no European had hitherto been seen; and they were received with that pleased surprise which usually marks the first meeting between civilized and savage people. Their reverence was much increased when Alvaro began to carry into practice those medical principles which he had imbibed on the coast. His success was greater than ever; insomuch, that he assures us that he succeeded in raising a dead man to life.* Such an achievement cannot but shake our confidence in the authenticity of the whole narrative;† however, we are will-

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* Naufragios, 23-4. Herrera, Dec. IV. b. i. ch. 3-4. Ramusio, iii. 269.

† A warm controversy arose in Spain on the subject of these miracles. Padre Honorio Filippino, in his work, "Nova Typis Transacta Navigatio Novi orbis Indiae Occidentalis," admits indeed, that these may be very natural and probable events; but insists, that to render them so, they ought to be performed by a holy priest, and not by a wicked soldier, (soldado escelerado). An anonymous author, however, has undertaken the vindication of Alvaro, and written a long treatise on the subject. He only faintly repels, however, the last appellation, as applied to

ing to believe, that the person might have been in a swoon, or stunned by a blow, especially as the resurrection took place only upon a long application of the remedy, and even some time after it had ceased. Be this as it may, such worship did they obtain in the eyes of the Indians, that on the assertion being made, that they were the children of the Sun, it met with immediate belief; and they were not only at full liberty to proceed to the westward, but were furnished with an escort to conduct and recommend them. The escort accordingly introduced them to the next people, as children of the Sun, who had power to cure or kill every disease to which man could be subject. They added, it is said, "greater lies," which are not specified. All passed current, and these persons scrupled not, even under cover of this sacred character of their mysterious companions, to appropriate whatever appeared to them desirable,—a proceeding viewed with much alarm by the Spaniards, on account of the hostile feelings which seemingly it could not fail to kindle; but, on the contrary, they found their companions made welcome on their

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his hero. His argument is, that the power of working miracles, or at least marvels, had been granted to the most unworthy objects; not only to wicked men, (malos y reprobos,) but to devils, (diabolicos admirables,) and even to the lower animals, as he devotes a chapter to the "portentos admirables de los Brutos." After this, every argument derived from the unworthiness of Alvaro, which he insists is much exaggerated, must fall to the ground. The reader probably feels no inclination to pursue this controversy any farther.

account, to any thing they chose to take. This new people sent a similar escort, who reported the same absurdities, and made a similar use of the credit derived from them; and thus they were passed on, from nation to nation, guided, venerated, and protected. They had nothing to encounter, except the physical obstacles of the route. They passed first a large river coming from the north, which appears to be the Mississippi, then travelled thirty leagues over a populous plain, when they came to a rugged, arid, and dreary tract, fifty leagues in extent, being the desert which separates the United States from the Mexican territory. In this road they suffered severely from thirst and hunger; but it was still worse when, having crossed another broad river, the "Rio del Norte," they came to a range of desert, steep, and barren mountains, (the continuation of the Cordilleras, passing into the Rocky chain). Here the Indians at one time, overcome by fatigue and hunger, lay down, and declared it impossible to proceed; when Alvaro, impelled to resentment, used high words and threats, to which they at last yielded. Soon after a severe malady attacked and carried off eight of them, when the poor creatures, imagining that the anger of Alvaro had induced him to employ magical powers to produce this effect, implored on their knees that he would forgive, and cease to slay them in this terrible manner. To cause such a calamity was as little in the wish as the power of Alvaro, who was grieved on their account, and also from the dread of not being able to prosecute his journey. At length they came to a party of Indians who had a little maize, the

sight of which was like that of land to those who had been long on a tempestuous ocean. They followed them to their village; but learned that the maize could not be raised in this high and arid tract, though in proceeding westward they would not be long of arriving at a fertile country and the seacoast. Alvaro began now to inquire about the Christians, when he was informed, that to the south-west there was a wicked people of that name, who plundered and murdered all who fell in their way, and never were known to do a good action. He was carefully warned to avoid all communication with them. He found too ample proofs of the correctness of this report, as he proceeded over a large plain, which the ravages of the Spaniards had reduced almost to a complete desert. Continuing to insist upon proceeding to meet the Christians, his guides reluctantly accompanied him; but nothing could equal their astonishment when told that Alvaro himself was a Christian. This they declared to be utterly impossible, since every thing was contrary in the two parties. The one came from the east, the other from the west;—the one was naked and on foot, the other clothed and on horseback;—the one healed those who were sick, the other killed those who were well;—the one showed no signs of avarice, while the other seemed to have no object in life but to steal whatever they could reach. Indeed they fully justified their character, Alvaro being only able, with great difficulty, to prevent them from making prisoners of the poor Indians who had served as his guides. This, and the opinion which he frankly expressed of their conduct, inspired such resentment, that, after

having traversed all America free and respected, he was made a prisoner by his own countrymen, and sent over a range of mountains so desolate and rugged, that two of the party perished on the road. On his arrival, however, at Compostella, the capital of New Gallicia, he was very courteously received, and much displeasure was expressed by the governor at the conduct of the frontier Spaniards. At Mexico his reception was still more cordial, and he was liberally supplied with every thing he wanted. After spending the winter here, he set sail next spring; and, having escaped considerable danger both from the sea and the French, who were then at war with Spain; he arrived at Lisbon on the 9th August, 1537.*

The disasters which had attended the expedition of Narvaez and its calamitous issue, did not, at that era of daring adventure, deter captains, even of high possessions and promise, from pressing eagerly on in the same career. FERNANDO DE SOTO, a native of Badajos, originally possessing only courage and his sword, had been one of the most distinguished companions of Pizarro, and a main instrument in annexing to Spain the golden regions of Peru. He went along with Ferdinand Pizarro on the first embassy to the Inca of Caxamalca, and he commanded one of three companies of horse, who encountered and made captive that unfortunate prince. Afterwards, along with Barco, he advanced to Cuzco, and first entered that imperial city. He returned to Spain, laden with

* Herrera, Dec. vi. Naufragios, &c. 31. Ramusio, iii. 276.

wealth, and with that high, though somewhat dark fame, which attended these celebrated exploits. He appeared at the court of Charles V. in great pomp, with a brilliant retinue, who had in some degree shared his prosperity. By accommodating the emperor with a liberal loan, he paved the way for obtaining almost any thing he might choose to demand. Soto sued for a fatal gift. Not content with the ample wealth and honours at which he had arrived, he viewed them only as instruments towards the attainment of something more splendid. In the conquest of Peru his part had been secondary,—the first prize had been carried off by another. He sought a country, the glory of conquering and the pride of ruling which should be wholly his; and he was willing to embark all his ample treasures in an adventure which would open, if was hoped, new and more copious sources of wealth. His wishes were fulfilled. He was created Adelantado of Florida, combining the offices of governor-general and commander-in-chief. He was also allowed, in this future kingdom, thirty leagues of territory to be formed into a marquisate. Soon after the conclusion of this agreement, Alvaro made his appearance, soliciting the same appointment, to which his dear-bought experience seemed to give him a sort of right; but the prior and well-supported claim of Soto kept its ground, and Alvaro was obliged to content himself with the government of Buenos Ayres. Thus gifted to his utmost wishes, he immediately proceeded to embark his whole fortune in the grand adventure. As the report spread, that Soto was setting forth to conquer new kingdoms, and to open the

treasures of another Peru, crowds of spirited and enterprising youths flocked to join, and even, like him, to embark their fortunes in the cause. In the course of fifteen months he had equipped an expedition of ten sail and nine hundred adventurers, most of them trained to arms.* He set sail with the Mexican fleet, of which he received the command as far as Cuba, and that island was even placed under his command, that he might draw from it every resource which it could afford for the furtherance of his object. At Cuba he was re-enforced by a distinguished volunteer, Vasco Porcalho, who had long carried arms both in Europe and America, and, having accumulated an immense fortune, was living in splendid retirement; but, on seeing the fine equipment and bold spirit of this expedition, he felt his military ardour revive. In a few days he resolved to join them in person, bringing an ample supply of provisions and stores, eighty horses, and a considerable train of followers. In consideration of these important aids, and of his own experience, he was created by Soto his lieutenant-general.

On the 12th May, 1539, the Adelantado set sail from Cuba, and towards the end of the month disembarked on the coast of Florida. He immediately advanced upon the city of Hirriga or Hirrihigua, governed, like all the other Floridan states, by a cacique of the same name. Soto seems to have come with intentions more than usually wise and humane, and to

* Vega Garcilossa de Florida del Ynca, b. 1. ch. 3—4. Herrera, Dec. vi. b. 7. ch. 9. Purchas, iv. 1532.

have sought to redeem the character of his nation. He determined not only to abstain from every injury and outrage against the natives, but even not to resent their first hostility, and to make friends of them by every possible sacrifice. But the memory of the Indians furnished a dreadful catalogue of wrongs, which could not be wiped off by a few passing professions, or by even acts of kindness. The Adelantado was moreover obliged to open his communications by demanding, in virtue of the Papal grant, a regular act of submission to his sovereign, and to himself as viceroy,—a demand which was held in utter disdain by the free and proud Caciques of Florida. The sovereign of Hirriga, we are coolly told, had had his nose cut off and his mother cruelly murdered by the Spaniards, so that he could never view them but with the most unrelenting enmity. He had caught hold of four, three of whom he put to death amid the severest torments. With respect to Ortiz, the fourth, a controversy was raised by that humane disposition which the wife and daughters of the Cacique shared with the rest of their sex. By constant entreaty they succeeded in persuading him to do no more than variously torture his prisoner. Even when they found him one day laid over the fire on a gridiron, they rescued him, and by great care recovered him from his half-roasted state. At length Hirriga announced that he must and would, without further delay, kill Ortiz, and that in so peremptory a tone that the ladies durst say no more. Pity, however, still swayed their breasts; and the eldest daughter contrived to send him off at midnight, under charge of a trusty Indian,

to Mucoço, a neighbouring prince who was tenderly attached to her. Mucoço received in the kindest manner a fugitive who came with such a recommendation. As soon, therefore, as he learned the landing of the Spaniards he repaired to their camp along with Ortiz. The sight of this personage, and the hearing of his name, caused a pretty deep disappointment to the expedition. Some one, it seems, had intimated that there was something at the court of Mucoço which would be agreeable to them; but, pronouncing the word *Oro*tis, the two first syllables caught the ear of the Spaniards, and suggested to them gold,—that object of their sole and perpetual longing. Instead of that precious metal, to see only a captive countryman, caused them to look somewhat blank; though the securing an interpreter and guide was perhaps an object of more real value. Mucoço seemed extremely pleased with his reception at the camp, and even agreed to hold himself as the vassal of the crown of Spain. His poor mother, however, arrived after him in a doleful plight. She immediately hastened to the general, and, falling on her knees, implored from him her son, declaring herself ready to die in his stead. Soto solemnly assured her that nothing could be farther from the wish of the Spaniards than either her death or his, and entreated her to compose herself, and take some refreshment. At length she was prevailed on to sit down to table; but, still cherishing the blackest ideas of the Spaniards, she would not allow a morsel to enter her lips till Ortiz had tasted it, and certified that it was not poisoned. Hereupon some of the gentlemen rallied her upon such extreme

love of life, which a little before she had declared herself so ready to sacrifice; but she replied, that she loved life much, but her dear son still more, and that this ought to be only an additional motive to them not to kill him, but to give him up to her. They told her that he was welcome to go if he chose; but Mucoço, laughing at her wild apprehensions, declared that he wished to stay a few days longer with his friends the Spaniards; and, after many solemn assurances of his safety and good treatment, she took her mournful departure.

Soto prevailed upon some friendly natives to proceed to Hirriga, make overtures of alliance, and tender a friendly visit. Hirriga, however, replied, that the heads of the Spaniards, severed from their bodies, would be most welcome, but that in no other shape would he admit them into his presence. He even ventured an attack upon them, but was repulsed with loss, by Porcalho; upon which he abandoned his capital, and retreated into the woods and marshes. Soto sent back the captured Indians with presents, and took every method in his power to mollify the cacique's resentment; but though he was thus induced to treat more mildly such Spaniards as fell into his hands, nothing could induce him to hold the shadow of friendly intercourse with that detested nation.

The Spaniards advanced now upon another city in the interior, known by the lengthy name of Urribaracuxi; but the approach was difficult, across the marshes occupied by the enemy, who seized every opportunity of harassing their march. Porcalho,

hearing that Hirriga was in a neighbouring wood, and elated with his former success, undertook to surprise him and bring him in prisoner. Every one assured him that he did not know what he was undertaking, or the obstacles he was to encounter; but nothing could divert him from the enterprise. He led on his men with youthful ardour, and, coming to a marshy spot, where every one else shrunk back, he alone pushed in, but soon sunk so deep, that it was with the utmost difficulty he could be dragged out alive. Thus forced to retreat without seeing an enemy, the old man returned to the camp in the most dreadful ill humour. He would speak to no one, but was heard constantly muttering to himself, in stammering and broken accents,—Hirrihigna,—Urribaracuxi, and pouring imprecations upon a land of which the very first names were such as no human organs could utter. These symptoms fermented into a resolution to quit the enterprise in which he had so hastily embarked, and betake himself again to his comfortable quarters in Cuba. He left indeed his nephew; but this young man, intractable, and possessed of lofty ideas of his own importance, did not prove a very serviceable associate.

Urribaracuxi was found deserted, the Cacique, with all his people, having retreated into the woods. Soto made a desperate effort to reach him; but, after spending a day in penetrating a long defile, he came to a marsh so deep, that the army could proceed no farther, and were obliged, not without difficulty, to make their way back. They came next to Acuera, the chief of which equally repelled their advances, expressing his

utter astonishment at their once imagining that free-born men should spontaneously place themselves under a foreign yoke. His subjects and himself, he declared, would sooner die. He issued, therefore, his mandate, that two Spanish heads should be presented to him daily; and during the twenty days that the Spaniards spent there, the reckoning was not ill kept up. So close was the watch, that a Spaniard could not stir three hundred yards from the camp without being cut down. They came next to the country of Acali, which was fertile, and free from the dangerous marshes which abounded in those already crossed; so that with pleasure they felt the ground firm beneath their feet. Here too the prince, after some delay, waited upon them with many professions of friendship, and acceded to all the terms propounded. Suspicion was soon excited by various observations made upon his conduct; but it was thought better to dissemble, and watch him closely, than to make him an open enemy. The cloven foot appeared at the crossing of a large stream, when, as the Spaniards were constructing a bridge, some hundred Indians started up from among the bushes, and poured in clouds of arrows, calling them base robbers, and other opprobrious epithets. They effected their passage, however, without any greater calamity than the loss of Brutus, a favourite dog, who was much lamented by the army. The prince remained, making solemn professions of innocence and grief, and lamenting that, in consequence of his attachment to the Spaniards, he had lost altogether the command of his own subjects. Soto, though he placed exceed-

ing little faith in these explanations, did not choose to make an open breach; but, thinking that the absence of this young prince would be more eligible than his company, he gave him a friendly advice to satisfy his own subjects by going home to them.

The Spaniards marched next into the province of Vitachuco, which, contrary to the usual custom of Florida, was divided among three brothers. Ochile the youngest was surprised in his capital, and taken prisoner, upon which he either was or appeared to be gained over, and undertook to plead the cause of the Spaniards with his eldest brother, who was much the most powerful, and bore the name of Vitachuco. He wrote to acquaint him that these strangers were ascertained to be the children of the sun and of the moon, and rode on animals so swift that nothing could escape them. They behaved in the most friendly manner towards those who received them well, but committed the most dreadful havock where they experienced the contrary. He earnestly exhorted him, therefore, to take the more prudent part. Vitachuco answered in the most disdainful terms, that the solar and lunar descent of the Spaniards was a ridiculous tale; that whatever outward appearance they might assume, doubtless they were, like all the rest of their countrymen, traitors, murderers, robbers, and children of the devil. That, if they were the honest men they pretended, they would stay at home and cultivate their own soil, instead of coming into distant climates to expose themselves by their robberies to the execration of mankind. He afterwards sent messages to the Spaniards themselves, filled with most

violent and indeed chimerical menaces. He told them that if they entered his country, he would command the earth to open and swallow them up, the mountains between which they marched to unite and crush them; he would poison the waters, the plants, and the very air. When, however, he saw the Spaniards continuing to advance, and learned from various quarters how very formidable they were, he assumed an entirely different tone. He went to meet Soto, made many apologies for the injurious ideas which he had at first imbibed, and the rude manner in which he had expressed them. His only anxiety now was how he could do him the greatest honour. He tendered to him his own submission and that of his subjects, and was only anxious to learn what quantity he would require of provisions, and of every thing useful to him that his territory afforded. Soto received his submission in the most gracious manner, professed his entire oblivion of the past, declared that his only object was to render him all the service in his power, and that he would study not to be burdensome to him. But the hatred of Vitachuco was still as deep and deadly as ever, and all this courteous seeming was only to cover a scheme by which he fondly hoped that not one of this detested race would ever pass out from the precincts of his territory.

The prince led the Spaniards to his town, and provided for them the best accommodation it could afford. At the same time, as if to do them honour, he summoned his warriors from every part of his territory, and appointed a day in which they were to be drawn up and exhibited in full array. He then dis-

closed to a number of his chiefs, that, on a signal given, they should fall suddenly on the hated race of the strangers, and exterminate them at one blow. They applauded and declared their eagerness to sacrifice themselves, if necessary, in so glorious an undertaking. One, however, of baser temper, communicated the fatal design to Ortiz, by whom it was immediately reported to the general. Soto resolved to dissemble, and to turn the plot of the Indian against himself. He expressed the pleasure with which he would see the Indian array exhibited, adding, that, in order to heighten the pomp of so great a day, he would also bring out his own Spaniards in full armour and in order of battle. It was easy to see that Vitachuco would have gladly dispensed with this honour; but he had no pretence for refusing, and, not aware that all was discovered, hoped still to effect his object by means of surprise.

On the appointed day the Indians appeared, drawn up on a large plain in front of the town, having a wood on one side and a range of marshes on the other. The Spanish troops came out from the town, Soto and Vitachuco marching together at their head. As they approached the spot where Soto was to have been seized, a musquet was fired, at which signal twelve Spanish soldiers, previously instructed, surrounded the Cacique, and made him prisoner. The Indian army, seeing this catastrophe of their chief, raised a loud shout and rushed on to battle. Soto mounted his favourite horse Azeituno, and with a too daring valour which was usual to him, rushed foremost upon the enemy. The Indians met him

with a shower of arrows, aimed particularly at Azeituno; and that gallant steed, which had so often borne its rider to victory, was pierced with eight barbs, and fell down dead. Soto fell with him, and was in imminent danger; but the Spanish cavalry instantly rushed on and charged the enemy. The loose infantry of the Indians was wholly unable to sustain the shock; they were broken, dispersed, and fled in every direction. Some hundreds, the flower of the army, who had been placed in the rear, could escape only by throwing themselves into a large pond, so deep, that at four feet from the bank it took them over head, and they could support themselves only by swimming. The Spaniards occupied all the sides of the pond, but the Indians continued floating in the water, and obstinately refused to surrender. They even locked themselves three or four together, on the backs of whom one stood, and discharged arrows as long as they had any remaining. They waited anxiously for night, hoping under its favour to effect a landing, and escape into the woods. The Spaniards, however, invested the pond six deep, and effectually prevented every attempt to land. In the morning the Indians were in a miserable state, half dead with cold and with the fatigue of keeping themselves on the surface of the water, yet they still turned a deaf ear to the urgent invitations of Ortiz, who assured them of safety and good treatment if they would only yield. At length a few, quite overcome, approached the shore; but the greater part, after touching it, again plunged into the water. When it was seen, however, that the few who landed were kindly received, others

insensibly followed. By mid-day, two hundred had yielded, and in the evening there remained floating only seven, who seemed determined to perish in the water rather than yield. Soto hereupon sent out half a dozen of his best swimmers, who took hold of them by the hair, and pulled them on shore. After, by proper remedies, they had been recovered from their almost lifeless state, they were asked what could lead them, after the hopeless and miserable state to which they had been reduced, to persevere in so obstinate a resistance. They replied, that, having been invested by their master with the highest commands, they considered themselves bound to answer such confidence by sacrificing themselves in his cause, and thus to set a noble example to their children and posterity. They felt themselves dishonoured and unfortunate in having been spared by the clemency of Soto, and it would be an additional kindness if he would take their lives. The high loyalty and courage breathed in these sentiments were congenial to the ideas of the Spaniards, who even shed tears of admiration; and the seven, with general consent, were left at liberty to go to their homes. Soto, at the same time, used every effort to gain over Vitachuco. He admitted him again to his table, and assured him, that however dreadful his conduct had been, the memory of it would be entirely effaced, provided he now acted up to those professions of fidelity which he had once made.

Soto had thus far followed the course most likely to effect his object of conciliating the Indians. This plan, however, having been adopted, it ought to have been thoroughly followed out, and not to have had any

harsh or tyrannical measures mixed up with it. Soto began to think, that some penalty was necessary to deter other Indians from imitating the example of those of Vitachuco; and the plan which he fell upon was the most injudicious that can well be conceived. He caused the *pond* Indians to be distributed among the Spaniards, whom they were to serve as slaves during their stay in the city. These proud chiefs and warriors were thus compelled to act as cooks and scullions, and to perform all the most menial offices. Soto, it is said, meant to set them at liberty at his departure, which was not intended to be very distant; but he did not communicate this intention to Vitachuco, to whom it appeared that his bravest subjects were thus doomed to hopeless and humiliating bondage. That fierce thirst for revenge, which had been lulled in the breast of this savage chieftain, was awakened anew in all its force. The Indians were disarmed, but they were at large, and in their domesticated state had the Spaniards very much within their reach. It appeared to Vitachuco, that if each Indian killed his master, the detested race would be at once extinct. The plan being communicated, was embraced with ardour, and the secret faithfully kept. Three o'clock, while he was sitting at dinner, was the time fixed by Vitachuco for executing his purpose. He threw back his shoulders, cracking his bones in a manner peculiar to the Indians, and uttering a shout so loud, that it could be heard at the distance of a quarter of a mile; he then sprung up, and, seizing the general by the arm, dealt such a blow, that Soto fell senseless to the ground, and the blood gushed from the mouth and

nose. The hand of the Indian was lifted to strike another, which, it was thought, would have closed the career of Soto; but the Spanish chiefs, starting from table, darted at once upon the Cacique, who fell pierced by twelve wounds. Mean time all the Indians had heard the loud cry of their chief, and, starting up, seized such weapons as their servile employment afforded,—spits, pots, platters, and chairs,—and struck them with fury against the Spaniards. Two or three of the latter were killed on the spot; almost all the rest received unseemly and dishonest wounds. They soon rallied, however, and took to their arms; but much embarrassment was felt by many, who held it beneath their dignity to kill their own slaves. All they would deign to do was to drag them to the great square, where they would be despatched by the arrows of auxiliary Indians; but these prisoners often shook themselves free, throwing down and trampling upon their masters. However, at last nearly all perished, with little deadly loss on the part of the invaders.*

After this dismal and bloody catastrophe, the Spaniards could have little satisfaction in remaining at Vitachuco. They merely spent four days in getting their wounds cured, and then set forward for Apalachen, which still bore in their eyes somewhat of that brilliant name which had lured Narvaez to it. The way was through the province of Ossachile, where they found, as usual, the capital deserted, and the Indians watching every opportunity to harass and cut

* Vega Florida, lib. ii. ch. 18-25. Herrera, Dec. vi. lib. vii. ch. 11.

them off in detail. Nothing serious occurred, however, till they arrived at the marsh or lagoon in which the army of Narvaez had suffered so dreadfully. The Indians were equally prepared for them, and had occupied every post from which they could be conveniently annoyed. The Spaniards, like their predecessors, found the marsh deep, difficult, and encumbered; and it cost them two days to effect the passage; but, being continually on the watch, and by passing the most difficult parts in the night unperceived by the enemy, they worked their way across without any very serious loss. They had still to fight every step of their way to Apalachen, the Indians constantly hovering round them, and keeping up such a perpetual howling, that the Spaniards could scarcely obtain a moment's sleep. It was announced to them, that at Apalachen they would find a formidable force prepared to resist them; but on their arrival the city was abandoned, the Cacique Capafi having retreated into the mountains.

Soto sent parties in several directions to explore the country beyond Apalachen, when it was found only in one quarter to be of that rugged and mountainous character which had been reported to Narvaez. The other districts were very tolerably productive in millet, roots, and nuts; so that, finding no difficulty of subsistence, he determined to take up here his winter-quarters. The Indians, however, continuing their harassing warfare, Soto resolved upon a desperate effort to terminate it, by seizing their prince. Capafi had sought refuge in the heart of a thick forest, on a spot approachable only by a narrow defile, which

the Indians had fortified by successive palisades, and considered almost impregnable. The Spaniards, however, pulled up the stakes, cut the cords, and soon forced their way through the successive barriers to the retreat of Capafi. The chosen troops, and all the principal chiefs of the Indians, rallied round their chief in this utmost peril, but could not withstand the superior arms and discipline of the assailants. It was in vain to attempt removing the Cacique, who was so excessively corpulent, that his only mode of locomotion was by creeping upon all fours,—a process much too slow for the present exigency. His chiefs were therefore obliged to produce him to Soto, at the same time falling on their knees, and entreating that he would rather take their lives than do the smallest injury to their beloved monarch. The Spaniards were much edified by this loyalty; so that Soto received the captive prince with courtesy, and his weighty carcass was respectfully conveyed to the capital. The general, however, was much disappointed to find that the hostilities of the Indians, instead of ceasing, became only more active and formidable. They were impelled to redoubled efforts, in hopes of effecting the deliverance of their chief; while the large and chosen body, who had hitherto been employed in guarding him, became disposeable, and were in continual movement. Capafi, at the urgent request of Soto, sent repeated orders to them to desist, but without effect. As the general grumbled heavily upon this subject, and hinted his doubts of the Cacique's sincerity, the latter observed, that his chiefs, considering him in a state of captivity, regarded the orders sent by him as not emanat-

ing from his own free will, but dictated by the Spaniards. If, however, an arrangement were made, by which he might have an interview with his principal chiefs, he was confident of being able to persuade them of his sincere wish for peace, and to make them desist from their present courses. This was rather a delicate transaction; however, Soto seeing no hope from any other course, at length agreed to make the trial. An appointment was made with the principal chiefs to assemble in a forest six miles distant from Apalachen; and the prince was sent thither under a strong guard of cavalry and infantry, who were enjoined to keep the strictest watch over him. They arrived in the evening on the borders of the forest, and messengers were sent to the chiefs, by whom a meeting was arranged for the following day. During the night the Spaniards formed a close circle round the Cacique, and stationed sentinels at every point, so as to prevent every possibility of escape. They hailed, therefore, the dawn of morning, under the full confidence of a happy issue to their mission. To their utter dismay, the Cacique was not to be found, and tidings soon arrived that the Indians were carrying him off in triumph. The Spaniards returned very disconsolate to Apalachen, and reported to Soto that the watch had been so strictly kept as to leave no possibility whatever of Capafi having escaped by human means. It was, therefore, beyond a doubt, that the devil, or one of those mighty magicians with whom the Indians had such extensive traffic, must have wafted his ponderous body through the air, and placed it in the midst of his nobles. Soto, on strict

inquiry, saw much reason to conclude, that Morpheus, shedding his heavy dews on the wearied eyelids of the Spaniards, had been the power under favour of whom Capafi had crept out of the circle and rejoined his countrymen. However, the thing could not now be remedied; and these being his chosen and trusty chiefs, he did not choose to quarrel with them, but was fain to acquiesce in the supernatural solution of the affair.

During the winter, Soto sent a detachment of thirty horse to Hirriga, to desire a body of troops, which he had left there under Calderon, to rejoin him at Apalachen. The mission was hazardous, as they had to experience the most inveterate hostility from the tribes by whom this long range of territory was occupied. They touched at Vitachuco, but found it completely deserted, being considered by the Indians as an unfortunate spot. In the course of the winter also Maldonado, a naval officer, was made to sail along the coast with two brigantines, in search of a good harbour, which he accordingly found considerably to the west of any of the points at which the Spaniards had yet touched. It was at a place called Achussi, at the mouth of a large river, and Soto determined to make it the basis of his future operations. Other objects for the present attracted his attention towards a different quarter.

Soto made the most anxious inquiries of the Indians who were brought in to him as prisoners, or could be allured into his service, as to the countries in the west and in the interior. At length two young men were found who had followed the mer-

chants into these countries. They described them as extensive and fertile, and offered to serve as guides to the Spaniards. The latter, ever mindful of their grand object, showed them gold, silver, and various species of jewels. The Indians said, that in the western country there was a yellow metal and a white metal, both in great plenty, and which really seemed to have a great resemblance to those now exhibited. They pointed also to the pearls, as an object which would be found there, and even showed one in their own possession. The Spaniards were now in the clouds; another Peru, more brilliant than Pizarro had conquered, seemed to open before them; and every day was an age, which intervened before their departure for the land of promise.*

Towards the end of March, 1540, Soto sent Maldonado to the Havanna for supplies and stores, advising him that the army would meet him in due time at the newly-discovered port. The general then began his march to the coast from which such sanguine hopes were derived. The Apalachians continued their hostility, and a detachment of five guards and two officers, who had been sent to reconnoitre, were surprised and covered with wounds, of which all died except one. On entering into a new territory, Soto felt the necessity of adopting some plan of more decided conciliation. He determined, therefore, to withdraw the clause, by which it had been required that the first communication should consist in an act

* Vega Florida, Herrera, lib. 7.

of implicit submission to the king of Spain and the pope. The unvaried indignation with which this overture had been met convinced him that it could never cease to be a ground of hostility; and, in his unbounded anxiety to reach the country of the white and yellow metals, he was willing to suspend every other object.* The first village reached by him had, however, been deserted, probably in consequence of some rumours from the east; but the inhabitants had not retired so rapidly as to prevent him from taking six of them, two of whom were chiefs. They proudly asked what he wanted? whether it were peace or war? The general replied, that all he wanted was peace, free passage through the country, and such a portion of provisions as his troops absolutely required. The chiefs replied, they had no doubt of all this being readily granted, and sent forward a message to the Cacique, asking a favourable reception for the strangers. The Cacique gave them a cordial invitation to his capital, called Attapaha, where Soto was entertained for three days, and, in return for his good treatment, presented several out of a hundred hogs, which he carried with him and reserved as a dainty. He was equally well received at Achalaque; and we pass over the report of his finding there only old men,—a phenomenon, it is admitted, which he had not leisure to examine. From Patofa, the next Cacique, the reception was more cordial than ever. The object was now to reach

* Lib. iii. Dec. vi. ch. 11, 12.

Cofaciqui, the next state, and which had all along been pointed to as the seat of that brilliant wealth which was to reward all their toils. Patofa gave him a most unnecessary and indeed cumbrous escort of three or four thousand men; to which, it appears, he was prompted by hostile views against this neighbouring power, in which he erroneously hoped that the Spaniards would assist. Such zeal did he display in their service, that, on their complaining of an Indian who had neglected his duty, he condemned him to drink up the nearest rivulet. To fix him to this task, four of the stoutest Indians were provided with rods, and held themselves ready to join in beating him all at once whenever he should make a moment's pause in drinking. The unhappy man drank and drank, till his stomach could receive no more; then, being compelled to pause, the blows began to descend without intermission, and he was forced to fly back to the pool, till some of the bystanders, moved with pity, ran to Soto, and entreated him to save the man's life by procuring the remission of this dreadful penalty. The Spaniards then set forth with their cumbrous escort, and proceeded for six days through a desert; during which, however, they were copiously supplied with provisions. At the end of that period the Indians declared themselves unable to tell where they were, or whither the road led. Soto appealed to Patofa whether this was not a most suspicious circumstance, and whether he could expect him to believe, that of so great a crowd not one had ever been led by war or hunting into this quarter. The prince, however, solemnly asserted,

and seems to have satisfied Soto, that this was the territory of their enemies, the Cofaciquis, by whom they were generally worsted, and that, unless from the present favourable circumstances, no one would have ventured to penetrate so far. The two parties therefore continued to grope their way, till they came to a large and broad river, which they had no possible means of crossing. The difficulty was much aggravated by the almost total failure of their provisions, rendered much more severe by the numerous body of Indians whom it was necessary to feed. Parties were despatched both up and down the river in search of a passage, but for five days without success. During that time they suffered the severest extremities of hunger, which they were obliged to palliate by killing a number of their favourite hogs; and even these scarcely afforded a mouthful to each. At length they found some villages, where they obtained a supply of food; but the Indians, indulging their old enmity, and encouraged by the presence of their Spanish allies, began plundering and murdering on all sides. This was quite contrary to all the views of Soto; and the presence of these faithful allies being thus every way useless and burdensome, he was happy in being able to prevail on them in a friendly manner to go home.

After some farther travelling, the Spanish general was fortunate enough to discover, on the opposite side of the river, the city of which he was in quest. When they came to the place of passage, Ortiz and an Indian called across, that some peaceably-disposed strangers wished to treat of an alliance with their Cacique.

Hereupon six of the most respectable inhabitants, with their attendants, entered into a boat and passed the river. On being introduced to the general, they bowed first to the sun in the east, then to the moon in the west, and, lastly, to the general, to whom they put the usual question, Whether he wished peace or war? Soto replied, peace, with the addition of a passage over the river and through the country, and a needful supply of food. It was with regret that he sought to give them this trouble, but he hoped to be able to make some suitable return. The Indians replied, that there would be every disposition to grant his request; but, unfortunately, the country laboured under a severe scarcity, and was also suffering from a pestilential disease; but they served an amiable and generous princess, to whom the whole circumstances should be reported. The Indians returned to the city, and soon after an ornamented barge was seen putting off from the shore, with another attending it; and in the first an elegant female figure, who, it was soon perceived, must be the princess herself. She arrived, and quite enchanted the Spaniards by her beauty, her grace, and the courtesy of her demeanour. She assured Soto that, notwithstanding the reigning scarcity, she had provided two large houses for the accommodation of his people, and had lodged in them six hundred measures of millet; and she had still granaries, out of which, if necessary, a larger supply could be drawn. She then untied a string of large pearls, which formed a treble circle round her neck, reaching even to her girdle, and gave them to Ortiz to deliver to the general. Soto observed, how much greater

pleasure it would give him if she would present it with her own hand, which, as a sign of peace, could not be considered as offending against the nicest decorum. After some modest reluctance the princess advanced, and complied with this request. The Spaniards found themselves more at home here than in any even of the friendly countries through which they had lately passed. Though the latter had shown amity, it had been in a rough, constrained, half-reluctant manner; but there was something free and cordial among the Indians of Cofaciqui, which made them feel at once like old acquaintances. No time was lost in preparing boats and rafts, and the army was passed over in safety.

On inquiring into the state of the country, Soto learned that the princess had a mother, who held a sort of independent establishment at twelve leagues' distance. He expressed a wish to see the old lady, who was accordingly invited; but, instead of complying, she transmitted a sharp reprimand to her daughter for having admitted into her capital strangers of whom she knew nothing. The young princess was so little affected by this remonstrance, that she concurred in a plan of Soto to send a detachment and bring the mother by force. A young chief, with some servants attached to him, was sent with the Spaniards as their guide. This chief, who had hitherto been one of their most agreeable friends, was no sooner on the road than, to their surprise, he became buried in gloomy reverie, and heavy sighs every moment burst from him. At length, taking his quiver, he began drawing out all the arrows, which were so beautiful,

that the attention of the Spaniards was engrossed in admiring them, when he took out one of the sharpest, pierced his heart, and instantly expired. His attendants burst into tears, and said, that this chief, being equally attached to both princesses, the present necessity of failing to one or other of them had agitated his mind, and drawn him to this fatal deed. They proceeded, however, to search for the old lady, but found that she had deserted her home; and the Indians represented, that in attempting to follow her they might be surrounded and cut to pieces; and that really it was of no consequence, as the young lady's friendship would secure every thing they could need. The Spaniards then wisely returned; but another report having reached them of her highness's retreat, a fresh party was sent, who were equally unsuccessful, and this idle chase was at last given up.

Mean time the Spaniards were making anxious inquiries about the productions of Cofaciqui, and particularly the white and yellow metals. The princess answered, that they were in abundance, and caused immediate specimens to be produced. That instant dispelled all the brilliant chimeras, under the influence of which they had undertaken this long and hazardous expedition. The yellow metal proved to be mere brass, with somewhat of a golden tint; while the white metal was only quartz, which crumbled in the hand like dried clay. Under this deep disappointment, their only consolation was found in pearls, which existed in abundance, though they could not form any judgment as to their value. The princess told them, they might take as many as they pleased out of a large temple,

which served also as the cemetery of her ancestors, and which was lavishly adorned with them. This, which is positively asserted in both narratives, cannot but appear very singular, when contrasted with that reverence for ancestry which usually distinguishes nations in this stage of society. This and another temple were found in fact to contain pearls sufficient to have loaded the whole army, —an abundance which of itself afforded a pretty strong presumption of inferior character. The other temple was that of Tolomeco, the most spacious edifice which was seen in Florida. It was a hundred paces long by forty broad, the roof formed by six mats placed over each other, and brilliantly adorned with shells and pearls. The gate was adorned with twelve statues of giants in full armour, and all round the interior of the walls were ranged statues of men and women of the ordinary size, the former fully armed. The intendants of the emperor were proceeding to levy his fifth upon the pearls and other precious articles found in the temple,—a measure which was stopped by Soto, on the ground that they could not encumber themselves with such a burden, but doubtless considering that the advancement of such a claim would bid fair to dissolve all the happy understanding which now subsisted with the native rulers.*

The Spaniards at length departed from Cofaciqui, amply supplied with every thing by their generous

* Vega, part i. b. 4. c. 15, 16. Purchas, iv. 1537-8.

friend. She even furnished them with guides, who were instructed to denounce war against any of the neighbouring states who should not receive them in the most cordial and hospitable manner. At Chouala, therefore, which was under her immediate dependence, their reception was every thing they could wish; but as they had no longer any motive to penetrate farther into the country, and Soto wished to approach the port by which he communicated with the Havanna, he determined to move southwards, down the rivers Chacaqua and Grande. The Spaniards experienced the same favourable reception at Guachoule, Xualla, and Tciahe. In the last place they found themselves on the scene of the pearl-fishery, and had the opportunity of observing how it was carried on by the natives. The pearls were found in great abundance, but were much injured by the use of fire in opening the shell, and afterwards by being pierced. In entering Acosta, the next province, they were met by a band of 1500 men, who presented themselves under a very rude and menacing aspect, and manifested a resolution to oppose their progress. Soto was very unwilling to interrupt the harmonious intercourse which he had so long held with the natives; he therefore sent forward his Indian guides to make every possible explanation and assurance of friendly intent. A correspondence was immediately opened, and the Cacique received them cordially into his capital. After refreshing themselves here for ten days, they proceeded to the frontier, escorted by the Cacique. At Talisse, a frontier town, strongly terraced and palisaded, they met the son of Tascaluca, prince of the

country which they were about to enter. He was an extremely tall and fine-looking young man, and on the Spaniards being introduced to him, undertook to conduct them to his father. They were, however, warned to be on their guard, as he had the reputation of being fierce, proud, and turbulent.

After travelling three days, the Spaniards came to the village where Tascaluca waited their arrival. They discovered him seated on an eminence, attended by a hundred of his chiefs. He was a handsome man of about forty, with a proud and noble air, and so tall, that he rose two feet above any of his attendants. He did not deign the slightest notice to any of the inferior Spanish chiefs who preceded Soto; but when the general himself appeared, Tascaluca rose and advanced fifteen or twenty steps to meet him. His reception was courteous, though stately; and he even proposed to accompany the army as it passed through his territory. It was necessary, however, to place him on horseback, and there was great difficulty in finding a horse large enough. At length one huge animal was found, which he could bestride without his feet actually touching the ground. On the road they missed two of their comrades, who were indeed too much in the habit of straggling; but the Indians, on being questioned on the subject, rudely replied, that the men had not been put into their keeping, and they were not bound to give an account of them. This was a very suspicious affair; but Soto thought it best not to bring matters to an open quarrel.

The Spaniards did not stop at the capital, but proceeded on to Mauvila (Mobile), a frontier town strong-

ly palisaded, and containing only eighty houses indeed, but each of these divided into various apartments, and containing numerous families. Soto, it is said, was advised by one of his officers against entering the place; but he thought his men stood in need of the refreshment of being for some time under a roof. On their arrival they were entertained with every show of rejoicing; their horses were sent to a commodious place without the city, and they were entertained with the dances of some beautiful Indian females, who in Florida peculiarly excel in this exercise. Quedrado, however, who had been directed to reconnoitre the place, brought a very alarming report,—that the houses were filled with armed warriors, collected from different parts of the country,—that all the children had been removed, and also the women, except those who were young and "fit for the battle." Soto, however, determined to avoid any overt act which might excite or indicate hostility, and merely sent round a warning to all his countrymen to be on their guard. Dinner being ready, notice was sent to Tascaluca, who usually sat down with the Spaniards; but, being deeply engaged in council with his chiefs, he sent for answer, that he would come presently. An interval elapsing, a second notice was sent, and received a similar answer; but as he still did not appear, Ortiz was sent to say that the dinner was on the table, and that he might come or not as he chose. This message was received by a chief who came out of the council, and who replied,—"Base robbers, is it thus you speak of the great Tascaluca?" He followed up this speech by giving the signal for a general

attack. All the Indians rushed forth, and poured in one mass upon the Spanish station. Soto instantly determined to retreat without the city to the spot where the horses were stationed, both to give his men the advantage of fighting mounted, and to secure those valuable animals, which might otherwise have been seized and killed. The troops retreated with their faces turned towards the enemy, and yet hardly maintained their ground amid clouds of arrows, which killed several and wounded many. The Indians pursued beyond the walls, and succeeded in killing several horses, and taking a considerable booty. When the Spaniards, however, were mounted, and ranged in order of battle, the undisciplined natives could not withstand their shock, but were driven back, and sought refuge within the walls. There, however, being placed under cover, they poured such clouds of arrows and missiles, that it behoved the Spaniards to fall back in their turn. By a repetition of feigned flights, they drew the enemy out of their shelter, and gave them a succession of little defeats. When the Indians were thus considerably weakened, and a Spanish division, which was behind the rest, had come up, Soto mustered his strength, and determined to attempt storming the place. He caused the cavalry, as the best armed, to dismount, buckle their armour close round them, and, stooping their heads, to rush forward and force open the gate. They succeeded, and entered Mauvila; while the foot-soldiers, not to be behind, broke down part of the parapet, and rushed in along with them. The Spaniards were soon masters of all the streets and open

places; but the enemy from the houses annoyed them to such a degree, that they at length resolved on the dreadful expedient of setting fire to the place. The effect was immediate in a town built wholly of reeds and timber;—in a few minutes both armies were involved in vast volumes of flame and smoke. Many Indians, especially females, perished amid the flames, presenting a spectacle which, it is said, deeply affected the conquerors. A number of the Indians rushed out, and endeavoured to renew the combat in the fields, but without success. In the last extremity, they now called on their females to come forward. A number of these heroines had not waited the call, but had fought side by side with their husbands; and now at the general summons they rushed forth in one body against the Spanish troops. The latter felt their Castilian gallantry revolt considerably against this species of combat;—they merely, it is said, warded off the blows of their fair assailants, whose fury soon evaporated, and by sunset the whole force of the Indians was in a state of final rout.

Thus closed the dreadful battle of Mauvila. The Indians who fell are stated by Vega at 11,000, but by the more probable estimate of a Portuguese narrator, at 2500. The number of the Spaniards killed on the spot was only eighteen; but of the wounds upwards of seven hundred were dangerous, besides numberless slight injuries, which scarcely any one had escaped. The treatment of these, without medicines or bandages, and with only one slow and unexperienced surgeon, was very unfavourable. It was necessary that those slightly wounded should dress the wounds of

the rest, making bandages of their shirts. Of those who fell, two were deeply lamented. One was Don Carlos, who had married a niece of the general, and whose generous and amiable qualities had made him peculiarly beloved. His horse being wounded, he stooped to extract the arrow, and thus exposed a part of his neck, which another arrow instantly pierced, and he fell. His cousin, Diego de Soto, who was passionately attached to him, eager to revenge his death, rushed into the thickest of the enemy, when an arrow entered his eye, and came out at the back of the head. It could not be extracted, and he died next day.

It is difficult to discover what could have excited in the mind of Tascaluca so bloody an enmity, which, so far as can be judged from any of the narratives, the Spaniards had done nothing to merit. It seems probable that, being near the coast, he had been imbued with those terrible recollections of their former misdeeds, which elsewhere, as we have seen, rendered them the objects of such execration.

Besides men, the Spaniards lost in this battle their most precious effects. The pearls, and every thing else collected in the course of the expedition, were burned or destroyed in this catastrophe. But nothing was more lamented than the robes of the priests, and the portion of wheaten flour and wine which was carried about for the celebration of mass. A meeting of ecclesiastics was held, to consider whether millet-bread could be substituted; but it was universally decided, that wheat only could constitute a real sacrament. They were obliged to be content with a leathern

robe and some prayers, which made what they called a dry mass, and afforded but slender consolation.*

Soto here learned with joy, that his port of Achussi was not more than thirty leagues distant, and that Maldonado was there. His plan was to build a town on this spot, which he might make the basis of his operations, and, after obtaining supplies from the Havanna, to proceed to the regular subjection of the interior countries. Amid these designs, he was roused by the alarming report of what was passing among his troops. It appeared, that, confidentially to each other, they were declaring themselves completely sick of an expedition, in which they had met with such dreadful hard fighting and scanty fare, without any of those golden treasures, in the fond hope of which they had abandoned their native land. They were constantly tantalized by hearing the relations of their companions, who had shared in the conquest of Peru, where they had found every thing so extremely opposite. Each, therefore, began to assure the other, that, as soon as they could reach the coast and find a vessel, they would sail for New Spain in search of a better fortune. It was but too probable that this purpose would be executed. Soto could not wholly conceal from himself the gloomy prospects and sinister aspect of the expedition, in which he had embarked all his hopes and fortunes. But he could not endure the thought of appearing again in Spain under a guise so different from that brilliant one in which he had formerly re-

* Vega, part ii. b. 1, ch. 5-9. Purchas, iv. 1542-3.

turned and last departed from it. In the poor and reduced state to which he was sunk, and with all the disgrace of a signal failure, he could not hope to escape the contempt of his countrymen. Any alternative seemed preferable to this, and he chose a most desperate one. He resolved, even in the weakened and exhausted state of his army, to push again into some other quarter of the interior, in the forlorn hope that, by some unexpected event, he might retrieve his fortunes. He seems still to have possessed such a command over his followers as to prevent them from openly mutinying against this purpose; and surrounded as they were by hostile nations, they could not attempt, in any single or scattered manner, to reach the coast.

Soto proceeded to the north-west, into countries which, being yet unexplored, seemed still to afford a gleam of hope. Depressed and irritated, however, he appears no longer to have employed the same means of conciliating the natives, and met nowhere with a friendly reception. On approaching the territory of Chicaça (the warlike nation of the Chickasaws), and sending an envoy to the nearest village with proposals of alliance, the answer was, that they wished for war. Their vanguard was soon repulsed; but it was not without great difficulty that, after constructing several large boats, he could pass the broad and rapid river which formed the boundary of their country. The Spaniards advanced directly upon the capital, which they found deserted, and made it their winter-quarters. The Indians hovered round, and made frequent attacks; but whenever the Spaniards approached, or

even appeared, they took to flight with every symptom of panic. All this, however, was merely intended to convey to the enemy the impression of being opposed only to cowards, and to lull them into a false security. When this plan appeared to have taken its full effect, the grand blow was struck. One night in the end of January, while a strong wind blew from the north, the Spaniards were awakened by the loud howling of many thousand barbarians, and, on looking out, saw the whole atmosphere in a blaze. This last effect was produced by numberless flambeaux, lighted by a peculiar vegetable substance, with which they had even the tips of their arrows pointed. By these means they easily succeeded in setting fire to the camp. Amid the surprise, the confusion, and the flames, they were able to rush in, and began to make dreadful havock. Such an impression was made by their unexpected prowess, that fifty of the Spaniards betook themselves to flight,—the first example of this disgraceful kind that had happened in Florida; but they were rallied. As Soto himself rushed against the enemy, without having had his saddle properly fastened, it turned round; he fell among the enemy, and was with difficulty rescued by his chiefs. When the Spaniards had been rallied and regularly drawn up, the assailants were obliged to give way.*

The troops spent the winter in Chicaça, though constantly harassed by hostile attacks. They suffered much also from an epidemical disorder, which they

* Part ii. b. 1, ch. 14-15. Purchas, iv. 154-5.

imputed to the want of salt, but which probably had other causes. The natives showed them a plant, which they found almost an infallible specific; but the pride of the Spaniards caused many of them to disdain using remedies which cured savages, and they died in consequence. In the spring, Soto marched along an extensive desert to Chisca, which he carried by surprise, all the inhabitants taking to flight. They were mustering their forces; but on his apprising them that he only asked lodging and provisions, with permission to pass on, and that he would restore the booty he had made, they agreed to make peace on these terms. Their next arrival was at Casquin, where they were received with every courtesy. The Cacique expressed the highest admiration of their valour, and even declared his belief of their God being more powerful than his. He caused his subjects to join in a grand procession in honour of the cross, after which Soto considered the nation as having become converts to the faith. The object of all this was, that they might obtain aid against their neighbours, the Capahas, with whom they carried on constant war, but generally with disadvantage. The Cacique levied a force of 5000 men, who formed the vanguard of a force which, with the Spaniards in the rear, marched upon Capaha. Soto made overtures to the Cacique of the latter; but, wholly dissatisfied with his companions, the prince abandoned the city, and retired to a strongly-fortified island in the large river Chucagua. The Casquins not only plundered the town, but gave full scope to the long-rooted enmity which had reigned between the two tribes. They proceeded to the great temple, broke

the chests in which their ancestors had been interred, collected the bones, and trampled them under foot. They might be forgiven for taking off the heads of their countrymen, which, stuck on lances, adorned the gates of the temple, and substituting those of the slain Capahas. Amid these proceedings, Soto hesitated not to send continued overtures of alliance and amity; but Capaha appealed to him whether, under the treatment which he experienced, he could think of any thing but war and vengeance. Soto at length, furnished with boats by his allies, embarked two hundred Spaniards and three thousand Indians to attack the island. They landed and carried the first palisade; but, in defending the second, the Capahas fought like lions; and the Casquins, accustomed to fly before them, were seized with a panic, and fled precipitately to the boats, where they would even have carried off those of the Spaniards to secure against pursuit, had there not been a guard to prevent them. The small Spanish detachment, thus abandoned to itself, might, it was supposed, have been entirely cut off; but the enemy, partly admiring their valour and partly conciliated by their former overtures, suspended hostilities, and allowed them to embark unmolested. The Cacique soon after came to visit Soto at his own capital, and concluded a treaty of amity: the Spanish general even succeeded in establishing a temporary peace between the two hostile potentates.*

Soto, proceeding still north-west, and into the interior,

* Vega, part ii. b. 2, ch. 6-7. Purchas, iv. 1547.

passed without much molestation through the provinces of Colima and Quigante. But when he came to Tulla, a more fierce resistance was experienced than from any former nation. This arose chiefly from the female warriors, who fought side by side with their husbands, and rivalled them in valour. After a hard contest, they were driven into the town, where they still continued the contest. Reinoso, one of the Spanish officers, having in the *mêlée* mounted into an upper chamber, five Indian ladies rushed upon him, seized him by the legs and arms, and began beating him with all their might. Reinoso, though his men were below, deemed it unbecoming a soldier to call out for aid against such assailants; yet he was wholly unable to resist, and the blows descended with such force and rapidity, that he could not have long survived. Luckily in the struggle his leg forced its way through the thin wicker partition which formed the floor, and appeared to a Spaniard who was in the room below, and who, thinking this an odd adventure, and that it had much the appearance of a Spanish leg, got two or three of his companions, and, running up, delivered Reinoso out of the hands of those fair furies. Juan Serrano having got hold of one of these heroines, endeavoured to use her as a domestic servant; but she was continually calling upon him either to kill her or set her at liberty, and throwing at him pots, pans, and other domestic implements, so that he was not sorry at last when she made her escape.*

* Vega, part ii. b. 2, ch. 11-13.

At Utiangue, the next stage, Soto took up his fourth winter-quarters, and experienced from the natives only a slight and harassing hostility. At Naguatex, the next stage, after some skirmishing at first, a good understanding was established. But when they came to Guacani they found a numerous and fierce people under arms.

Soto began now seriously to consider the situation into which he had brought himself. He had plunged again deep into Florida, without any result more favourable than he had reason to expect. He was continuing to go onward, he knew not where or why, with an army gradually mouldering away, and which would soon be unequal to meet the formidable resistance to which it was always liable. He became sensible that the plan which he had rashly abandoned, of building and fortifying a town on the seacoast, and communicating by it with the Havanna and Mexico, was the only one which afforded a promise of any solid establishment. He was now, however, so distant from the coast, that he doubted being able, with his reduced force, to make his way thither through so many nations. He determined then to march direct to the Chucagua, to build there his town and construct two brigantines, which might sail down the stream into the Gulf of Mexico. The Spaniards then, retracing their steps, marched rapidly, viewing the intermediate countries only as a passage, and avoiding all discussion with the natives; so that they effected a march of nearly three hundred miles in a short time and with little hinderance. They were involved in some disputes between the states of Anilca and Guachoia; but

Soto was hoping to effect his objects in the course of the winter, when a disease, of which the foundation had probably been laid by disappointment, carried him off, after an illness of seven days. Soto seems to have merited a less dark close to his adventurous career. The Portuguese narrator calls him valorous, virtuous, and valiant. He was imbued, indeed, with the same unjust and tyrannical principles which actuated the other conquerors of America, and which were sanctioned in their eyes by false principles, both of loyalty and religion; but he tempered these principles with singular humanity, and combined daring valour with a good deal of prudence and discretion. Had the plan of settling Florida not been frustrated by the fierce valour of the natives, it might have been effected under better auspices than the other and more splendid conquests and establishments of the Spanish nation.*

On the death of Soto, a deep and general despondency seized the expedition. After a short deliberation, it was resolved to follow out the design on which their hearts had long been fixed, of renouncing Florida for ever, and shaping their way by the most direct course to Mexico. Their first project was to follow in the footsteps of Nugnez, and proceed direct across the continent. This they hoped to effect by marching due west, turning neither to the right nor the left; and in this way they made a hundred leagues full speed, never inquiring what countries

* Vega, part ii. b. 3, ch. 8-9. Purchas, iv. 1552.

they were going through, or holding any communication with the inhabitants. By this blind advance, however, they found themselves entangled in wild and dreary forests, and saw before them a chain of rugged and trackless mountains. These were probably a branch of the Apalachians, which they might have avoided by a slight detour; but they were discouraged, and determined to hasten back to the Chucagua, and there to construct a flotilla, which might convey them to Mexico. They suffered much, however, on the road, both by the scarcity of provisions, the severe cold, and the incessant hostility of the natives. On reaching the river, they seized on Aminoia, a considerable place, composed of two contiguous towns. The natives did not willingly admit them, but were driven out after a short resistance.

As soon as the troops were refreshed from their fatigues, and the rigour of the winter was over, Moscoso, who had succeeded to the command, caused the Spaniards to apply with the utmost vigour to the building of seven brigantines, which were judged sufficient to embark the remaining troops. They now learned that a general confederacy had been formed among the neighbouring tribes, having in view their final destruction. An envoy from one of the Caciques privately assured the Indian female captives, that they would soon be delivered from the odious yoke of the strangers, whose heads, stuck on lances, would adorn the porches of the temples, while their bodies, suspended from the tops of trees, would become the prey of the birds. These fair prisoners, moved either by pity or a tenderer sentiment, gave notice of the

design. But a force which was estimated, though probably much too high, at thirty or forty thousand men, opposed to a number now less than five hundred, and with only a small remnant of the horses, which had chiefly inspired the natives with terror, could look forward only to a very doubtful issue of the contest. They thought themselves, therefore, fortunate in being delivered from it by a great inundation of the river, which converted all the surrounding plain into a sea, and made the streets of Aminoia itself passable only in canoes. They were thus enabled by the end of July to complete their brigantines; but the enemy now determined to attack them in the passage down the river. For this purpose they had provided nearly a thousand war-canoes, formed, indeed, only of a single tree, but larger than those in the rest of Florida. They were variously adorned with brilliant colours, —blue, yellow, red, and green; but each canoe, with the oars, and even the arrows and plumes of the boatmen, was all of one colour. It was learned from the interpreter that they spoke with contempt of the cowards who were flying before them in vain, but who had escaped being the prey of the dogs on land only to become that of the river-monsters. Accordingly, the voyage down for ten days was one continued battle, in which the Spaniards were obliged to remain strictly on the defensive, being not only few in number, but their ammunition nearly exhausted. Every one of them, notwithstanding his armour, was more or less wounded, and all their horses were killed except eight. Having got the start of the enemy by about a league, they landed at a village for a neces-

sary supply of provisions; but were so closely followed, that they were obliged to abandon their horses, and saw miserably perish this remnant of the three hundred and fifty noble steeds which they had landed in Florida, and which had been a main instrument of their victories. Soon after, the Indians, by a feigned relaxation in the pursuit, induced three barks, with fifty-two men, rashly to separate from the rest, when they were suddenly surprised and enveloped, and the whole killed or drowned, with the exception of four. They continued to follow the Spaniards during that day and the following night; but next morning, when they saw the sun rise, they raised loud shouts, and sounded all their instruments in thanksgiving to that great luminary for the victory he had granted;—they then desisted from the pursuit, which had been continued without intermission for four hundred leagues. Moscoso, with all that remained of his troops, reached the ocean without farther difficulty.*

The Portuguese narrator has given an estimate of the Spanish marches, which makes them amount in all to two thousand leagues, or above five thousand miles. This is certainly extravagant; yet they were very extensive, including, in various directions, the whole of Florida and Georgia, and even touching Carolina. Nothing, however, can be more misplaced than the title of "Conquest of Florida," which Spanish pride has not scrupled to affix to the narrative. With the exception of the deep track of blood

* Vega, part ii. b. 4, ch. 4-5.

with which their steps were almost every where marked, the Spaniards left Florida as they had found it, in full possession of the native tribes.

The expedition proceeded along the Gulf without any vicissitudes but those to which such a voyage is incident, and arrived at the port of Panuco. Here their miserable state excited deep sympathy. Meagre, black, overwhelmed with fatigue, covered with skins, looking more like beasts than men, they received every charitable aid, were lodged and fed; and the benevolent confraternity of Mexico sent down shirts, shoes, medicines, and delicacies for the sick. By these applications, in the course of ten days they were revived and recruited; and they then began to look round for those treasures which, in failure of Florida, they had never doubted that Mexico would furnish. Mexico had sounded in their ears as a magic name, —a region where gold and silver would lie scattered in heaps, and could be collected without effort. Instead of this, they saw a dreary and barren country, without a particle of the precious metals, every repository of which, they learned, had been already occupied, and nothing left to glean. The Panucans, accordingly, were in very humble circumstances, having nothing but a few horses, and what they could wring from the ungrateful soil. To themselves there evidently remained nothing but hopeless beggary or daily labour. They were seized hereupon with a paroxysm of rage and regret at the idea of having left Florida, a fertile region, where they would have had a kingdom of their own, and might each have had a province to govern. Their fury vented itself chiefly against

those of their countrymen, and especially of the chiefs, through whose influence mainly the resolution to abandon Florida had been taken. They even fired at and wounded several, so that they durst not stir out of their houses. At last, the government was obliged to interfere, and send them to Mexico by tens and twenties, taking care that each party should be all on one side. At Mexico they were received with much interest, and there was even a talk of renewing the expedition to Florida; but the final issue was, that they all dispersed either to the mother-country, or to seek their fortune in different parts of the colonies.*

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* Vega, b. 4, ch. 14.

CHAPTER III.

FRENCH EXPEDITIONS INTO FLORIDA.

Expedition of Ribaut—Of Laudonniere—Of Menendez.—Capture of the French Fort.—Dreadful Catastrophe.—Expedition of De Gourgues.—His Success.—Return to France.

It must be obvious, from the narratives now given of the Spanish expeditions in Florida, that however gallant and adventurous their conduct had been, and however striking and eventful their career, Florida was left by them exactly as they had found it, and not a single permanent settlement formed. Yet, from the original discovery of Ponce de Leon, and these misnamed *conquests*, that proud nation claimed a right, under the name of Florida, to the whole North American continent. It was not likely that the other great nations, as they advanced in maritime skill and enterprise, would long acquiesce in so empty a claim. France, which had not hitherto taken any lead in this direction, was now the first to dispute it. The brave and generous Coligni, bred to naval affairs, first perceived all the advantages which his country might

derive from commerce and colonial possessions. In 1562, the great civil war was as yet only brooding, and Catherine, in the crafty balance which she sought to maintain between the parties, studied to conciliate the admiral. She therefore cordially concurred in his plan of sending a Huguenot expedition to occupy Florida; which, amid the fatal designs over which she was brooding, promised even to weaken a body of which she had sworn the destruction. Coligni had thus no difficulty in fitting out a party exclusively Huguenot, and including some persons of respectable birth. They embarked in two vessels, under the command of Ribaut, an officer of merit. He had a tolerably prosperous voyage, and arrived at the mouth of a river, which he called May, from its being discovered in that month of the year, 1562; but he sailed to the southward in search of a river which Ayllon, a previous navigator, had called the Jordan; but instead of it he lighted upon one which the English afterwards called Ediscon, and which is, in fact, on the borders of South Carolina. A fort was soon erected, and the settlement being thus founded under promising auspices, Ribaut set sail for France, with the view of bringing out a re-enforcement to the colony. This was an imprudent step. The settlement, in its most critical state, was left without the benefit of his prudence and judgment; and the command devolved upon Albert, an officer quite unequal to so delicate a task. Finding it difficult to maintain discipline in a society where all were more willing to command than to obey, he had recourse to the most tyrannical and brutal means of

enforcing it. He addressed the colonists only in the most opprobrious language; he hanged one of them with his own hand, and held out to the others a continued menace of the same fate. At length, losing all patience, they rose upon him, and put him to death. Amid these dissensions, and amid some vain inquiries after silver and gold, they never bethought themselves of the more essential object of raising a supply of provisions, till famine, in the most alarming shape, stared them in the face. After exhausting all that they could either procure for themselves, or obtain from the natives, a council was called, and no resource was found but to construct a bark and return in it to Europe. They had thus the same task to perform as the followers of Narvaez, though not with means so wholly imperfect; and hunger stimulating their exertions, enabled them in a short time to complete their vessel. A much heavier task awaited them in crossing the mighty Atlantic, and one which it seemed scarcely possible that they could achieve in safety. Other perils, however, threatened them, than those their fears had anticipated. Instead of shipwreck, they encountered so dead a calm, and the voyage thus reached to so unexpected a length, that their slender store of provisions was exhausted, and the famine from which they fled met them in all its horrors. After every other mode of sustaining life had been exhausted, their reluctance was overcome to that impious one which every civilized mind must view with the deepest horror. One of the crew had been already sacrificed, to afford a dreadful prolongation to the life of the rest, when an English vessel

appeared in sight, by which they were taken up and conveyed to their native country.*

Coligni, mean time, involved in the violent civil war which followed the massacre of Vassy, had been unable to think of Florida; but as soon as the death of the Duke of Guise had led to a peace between the two religions, he appeared again at court, and succeeded in fitting out a fresh expedition, under an officer of merit, called René Laudonniere. This captain received three vessels, well manned and appointed, and with every thing which could minister to the wants of a new colony. On the 22d June, 1564, they arrived at the river of May. Laudonniere here learned the calamitous breaking up of the former colony, and, on proceeding to its site, judged it less inviting than that in which he had first landed. He proceeded thither, and founded the fort of La Carolina. He was extremely active, and sent parties who penetrated into the country as far as the Apalachians, continuing, notwithstanding all experience, to be cheated, as the Spaniards had been, by vain appearances of gold and silver. He was equally unable, also, as his predecessor, to maintain discipline among a band who came out with the expectation both of full license and boundless wealth. Some young men of rank, impatient of the restraint in which he held them, formed a plot against his life. It was discovered, and they were sent back to France.

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* Benzo, Novus Orbis, 434-8. Hist. Gen. des Voyages, xiii. 416-19. De Bry, part ii.

But one plot instantly succeeded another, and at length a great body announced their determination to set out on a piratical expedition against the Spaniards. In vain did Laudonniere remonstrate, that such conduct was contrary to the most express instructions of his master, and would involve them in dangers beyond what they could now estimate. They equipped two vessels, seized his person, and, holding a dagger to his breast, compelled him to sign a commission to them to cruise in the Gulf of Mexico. They were wonderfully successful, and at last made a capture of a rich vessel, in which were the governor of Jamaica and his two sons. The governor, however, overreached them so far as to gain permission to transmit a letter to his wife, in which he was to instruct her to send a large sum as his ransom; instead of which he gave instructions, in consequence of which the pirates were enveloped by the armed force of the enemy, and only the smallest French brigantine, by cutting her cables, was able to escape. Being obliged, however, to approach the coast of Florida to obtain provisions, she fell into the hands of Laudonniere, who executed four of the chief mutineers. But famine, the perpetual foe of the settlement, again began to rage, and was the more severe, as the expeditions of Laudonniere had involved him in complete hostility with the surrounding natives. Sir John Hawkins having touched at the port, afforded them a temporary supply of bread and wine, which they had not tasted for some months; but Laudonniere, disgusted with his situation, purchased from him a vessel, for the purpose of conveying the whole re-

mains of the colony to Europe. Just as they had raised anchor, sails were descried in the distance, and seven armed barks were seen approaching, which proved to be a new expedition under Ribaut. That officer now superseded Laudonniere, of whose severity heavy complaints had been made. A few days after his arrival the vessels in the road were saluted by six Spanish ships, the causes of whose appearance must be now pointed out.

Don Pedro Menendez had received a commission from Philip II. to survey the coasts of Florida; in addition to which he had been allowed, at his own expense, to undertake the often abortive design of forming a settlement in that country. Amid the preparations, tidings arrived of the establishment formed in Florida by the French Huguenots; when Philip, sending for Menendez, told him, that, besides his former object, the holy and glorious task was now reserved for him of extirpating the heretics from the new world; for the due accomplishment of which high purpose there would be added to his armament, out of the royal revenue, a considerable force both of ships and men. Thus re-enforced, he sailed from San Lucar, with eleven vessels, a thousand men, and a large train of artillery. The fame of this "holy war" having spread throughout Spain, numerous volunteers, many of the best families, flocked to join it, and at leaving the Canaries, it had swelled to a force of 2600, among whom were twenty-six ecclesiastics. A severe tempest shattered and diminished the armament; so that at Porto Rico it became a question whether they should proceed or wait for succours;

but the ardent spirit of Menendez prompted him to advance and surprise the heretics before they could be re-enforced and established. In sailing along Florida he came upon three French vessels, which were lying out at sea, and on being asked his object, replied with more frankness than prudence, that he came to attack the Lutherans with fire and sword, and to extirpate them out of Florida. The French instantly cut their cables and made for the shore, nor could the Spaniards overtake them. Menendez reconnoitred the river and the position of the French, when it appeared to him that he could not, without rashness, attempt a landing. He determined, therefore, to retire, and form a settlement on the neighbouring river of St Augustine, where, by uniting with the natives, whom the French had made their enemies, he might organize the means of a successful attack.

Ribaut, finding himself exposed to so formidable and bitter an enemy, deliberated on the means of crushing him before he had time to strengthen himself in the country. He determined to embark on board the fleet nearly the whole of his effective force, and, sailing direct upon the Spanish position in the river St Augustine, endeavour to carry it before it could be put in any state of defence. He sailed on the 6th September, and on the 10th appeared at the entrance of the river. Menendez saw and made the best preparations he could to meet the imminent peril to which he was exposed. The enemy were retarded by the tide for two hours, and before the end of that period a tempest, or rather hurricane, arose, so dread-

ful, that the whole French fleet was driven out to sea, and exposed to the most imminent peril.

Menendez began to consider what advantage he could take of this state of affairs. It was easy to judge that Ribaut must have brought to this grand attack all the flower of his troops, leaving for the defence of the fort only a handful, probably quite off their guard, and free from any apprehension of attack on the land-side. It appeared to him, that by pushing across the country, favoured and guided as he would be by the natives, he would have every chance of reaching the fort before the storm would admit of Ribaut's return. He set forth immediately with five hundred of his best troops. Formidable obstacles were presented by the swamps, the thick forests, and the broad rivers which were to be crossed; and the rain falling in torrents, greatly aggravated the distress. The soldiers were several times on the point of mutinying, and exclaimed, that it was a disgrace for brave men to suffer themselves to be led blindly by an Asturian mountaineer, who knew nothing of war. Menendez, with great address, took no notice of their murmurs, but cheered them on by every motive, both of religion and valour. On the evening of the fourth day they arrived within view of the fort, and spent the night behind a hill, exposed to a dreadful tempest, which rendered their own sufferings extreme, but at the same time lulled the vigilance of the French. At daybreak Menendez mounted the hill, and saw no appearance of any watch. A single Frenchman was seen straggling; he was allured into the camp, and then killed. The Spanish

commander now caused his men to rush full speed upon the fort, calling out,—"Follow me, my friends, —God is for the Spaniards!" A soldier, who had accidentally mounted the rampart, gave the alarm; but before Laudonniere could muster his little garrison the Spaniards had rushed in by the three open gates, and began an indiscriminate massacre of men, women, and children. Laudonniere's own narrative reports some attempt at resistance, but there is no mention of it in any other account; and soon, it appears, he and the few who could escape by leaping over the ramparts thought themselves happy in finding a hiding-place among neighbouring woods and swamps. The Spaniards boast that Menendez, after a certain interval, gave orders to spare the women and the children under fifteen, and that about seventy were saved. Laudonniere, with the few other fugitives, wandered for some time among the woods, till at length they found means to unite and get on board a little ship at the mouth of the river. In this they undertook to reach their native country; on the way to which they encountered want, cold, hunger, thirst, and, worst of all, the danger of being thrown upon the coast of Spain; but at length they entered, in a miserable state, the port of Bristol, where they met a hospitable reception.

The most tragical part of the story yet remains to be told. Ribaut, after being tossed about for some days, had all his vessels dashed to pieces against the rocks in the canal of Bahama. The crews, however, with the exception of one man, succeeded in reaching the shore. In this distressful state, Ribaut saw no resource but to find his way back by whatever means

to the fort. They had, however, a hundred leagues to travel, through a most rugged and barren country, where they subsisted wholly on roots and herbs, and only occasionally found pools of bad water. They were quite exhausted, when, on the ninth day, they were cheered by the view of the river and of the fort on the opposite side; but what was their dismay when they saw on the ramparts Spanish colours! An awful pause was made, to consider the course which they were to hold, and some were of opinion that they should suffer any thing rather than put themselves in the power of men whose chief glory was in shedding the blood of the enemies of their faith. Ribaut, however, judging their situation otherwise almost wholly desperate, determined to open a treaty with Menendez. He sent two of the party to represent to him, that their sovereigns were in close amity; that the French had been sent out under the strictest injunctions to interfere in no shape with any settlements which had been formed by Spain, and they had rigidly acted up to this injunction. He hoped, therefore, that in this extremity they would be allowed all they asked,—a supply of food, and a vessel to convey them to Spain. Menendez received them in the most courteous manner,—assured them that nothing could be farther from his wish than to treat with inhumanity the soldiers of any nation, especially Frenchmen, with whom his sovereign was anxious to preserve amity. Since they were willing to quit Florida, he pledged himself, on the faith of a soldier and a gentleman, that they should be well treated and sent back to their country. Upon this pledge the French

delivered up their arms, and a boat was sent across, which brought them over in parties of thirty at a time. Ribaut was not a little dismayed to observe, that as his men were landed, they were bound two and two together, with their hands behind their backs; but he was assured that this was only a temporary precaution. At length, when they were all assembled on a plain in front of the castle, Menendez, with his sword, drew a line round them on the sand, then ordered his troops to fall on and make an indiscriminate massacre. The Spaniards eagerly rushed on to fulfil this bloody mandate, and added every outrage which national and religious antipathy could prompt. The bodies were not only covered with repeated wounds, but cut in pieces, and treated with the most dreadful indignities. All the while the military band continued to play, to drown the cries for mercy and the shrieks of the dying. Ribaut, while he vainly invoked the pledged faith of Menendez, was struck in the back, and having fallen down, was despatched by numerous wounds. His skin, or, according to others, the hair of his beard, was then taken off, and sent to Spain to greet the eyes of his Catholic majesty. A number of the mangled limbs of the victims were then suspended to a tree, to which was attached the following inscription:—"Not because they are Frenchmen, but because they are heretics and enemies of God."

It may be proper to mention, that the Spaniards published narratives in which they admitted and even justified the barbarity of Menendez, but denied his treachery. According to them, the answer which

Menendez gave to the first mission was, that he had come from Spain to make mortal war against the heretics, both by sea and land; that he had slaughtered the whole of the French garrison with the exception of the women and children; and that, if the French chose to surrender at discretion, he would do whatever God should put into his mind. Charlevoix even considers this as the most probable account of the affair. My own opinion is diametrically opposite, as the French must have been divested of every glimmering of common sense, if they had laid down their arms and surrendered themselves, merely upon this solemn pledge to kill them. The opposite pledge may not have been quite so solemn as was asserted; but that reason was given to them to think their lives would be spared, appears a point morally certain.*

The tidings of this dreadful tragedy, when they arrived in France, excited an universal and mingled sentiment of grief and rage as well as a loud cry for vengeance. Fifteen hundred widows and orphans of the sufferers presented a remonstrance to Charles IX. in which they laid before him all the atrocity of the deed, and called upon him to vindicate the honour of his kingdom in warm terms, which evidently implied a doubt whether he was much inclined to meet their wishes. Charles, in fact, deeply united with Philip in a purpose to exterminate the Protes-

* Benzo, 445-53. Hist. Gen. des Voyages, xiii. 419-47. Charlevoix, Nouv. France, 12mo. i. 126-38. De Bry, part ii.

tant name, though he could not altogether resist the cry of his people, made only cold and formal remonstrances, and readily accepted the superficial apologies of the Spanish court. But there was in the nation itself a spirit and energy which provided an avenger, without and against the wish and will of their monarch.

Dominique de Gourgues, born at Mont de Marsan, in Gascony, passed in that enterprising age for one of the most distinguished leaders of partisan warfare. The Spaniards, who had often experienced his prowess, at length overpowered him while commanding a small party, took him prisoner, and very basely sent him to work in chains among the galley-slaves. After his deliverance, he made several naval expeditions, and had just arrived at home when the news of the Floridan catastrophe reached France. The memory of his own wrongs mingled in the mind of De Gourgues with those of his countrymen, and worked him up to the highest exaltation. He determined to devote himself, his fortune, and his whole being to the taking of some signal and terrible vengeance. His fortune was small, but he sold every thing he had; he borrowed from his friends; he prevailed on a few chosen associates to follow his example. Thus he found means to equip three small vessels, and to put on board of them eighty sailors and one hundred and fifty troops. Aware that his purpose would find no favour at court, he merely applied for and obtained a commission to bring negroes from the coast of Benin. Accordingly he proceeded, in the first instance, along the African coast; but on reaching the Cape Verd islands, he sud-

denly turned and crossed the Atlantic. It was not before reaching the western point of Cuba, that he disclosed to his countrymen that their destination was Florida, and to avenge their slaughtered countrymen. There were not wanting those who shrunk from an adventure so perilous on that bloody and terrible shore. But those who were in the secret raised a loud cry of applause; the rest were mostly devoted adherents, accustomed to follow De Gourgues through every peril; so that an unanimous voice was soon raised in favour of the enterprise.

De Gourgues now sailed along the coast of Florida. As he passed seemingly too close to the river May, the Spaniards, imagining the ships to be Spanish, saluted him with three guns, which he returned, taking care quietly to stand farther out to sea, and landed at a river about fifteen leagues' distance. As soon as a communication had been opened with the Indians, it appeared that the Spaniards, as usual, had rendered that people their mortal enemies, ready to assist and to co-operate in every thing tending to their destruction. By their information, and by an exploratory excursion taken under their guidance, it appeared, that two forts had been added to the original one, and that the whole were in good condition, but carelessly guarded, the Spaniards not having the slightest suspicion that there was a French force in this quarter of the world. The allied force having exchanged mutual oaths and hostages, set forth, and, after a very hard march, arrived in sight of San Matheo. They were obliged to spend the night at two leagues' distance, being unable to cross a river that had been

swelled by the rains. Next morning, on taking a view of the fort, he was much alarmed by seeing the whole garrison in motion and on the ramparts; but they soon withdrew, and it proved to have been only to see some repairs made to a fountain. At ten o'clock the troops crossed the river, which still took them up to the middle. They were for some time concealed by a thick wood, emerging from which they were at last seen, and two guns fired. They rushed on, however, with eager fury; and Alokutora, an Indian, having singly scaled the ramparts and killed an artilleryman, the garrison were seized with a panic, and precipitately abandoning the fort, were most of them killed or taken. Almost immediately the garrison of the next fort followed their example, and met with the same fate. The main fort, however, still held out, and, having recovered from the first panic, was putting itself in a posture of defence. De Gourgues was happy to learn from a prisoner, that they considered him 2000 strong, and he was thence encouraged to attempt carrying the place by escalade. Before his preparations were completed, however, a party sallied out, and, being taken in the rear, were almost entirely cut off; upon which the garrison were seized with the same panic as the rest, and fled into the woods, where they almost all fell into the hands of the Spaniards or Indians. De Gourgues caused his men to spare as many of the Spaniards as they could, and even collected all those whom the Indians had taken and were preparing to torture. Having assembled them, he led them to the fatal tree, on which the skeleton remains of his slaugh-

tered countrymen were yet suspended. Here, after upbraiding them for their matchless treachery and cruelty, he hanged them all, and suspended them on the same tree, changing the inscription for another in the following terms:—"Not because they are Spaniards, but because they are traitors, robbers, and murderers."

De Gourgues did not intend, nor attempt, to make any settlement in Florida. He embarked all that was valuable in the forts, and set sail for La Rochelle. In that Protestant capital he was received with the loudest acclamations. At Bordeaux these were reiterated, and he was advised to proceed to Paris and claim the reward of such eminent services. There he met with a very different reception. Philip had already an embassy demanding his head, which Charles and Catherine were not disinclined to give. They disavowed his conduct, and had taken steps for bringing him to trial, but found the measure so excessively unpopular, that they were obliged to allow him to retire into Normandy. He received an invitation from Queen Elizabeth, which he once intended to accept; but having, in the change of events, regained royal favour, he found ample employment in his native country.*

The conductors of these expeditions, amid their hurried and tumultuous career, had little leisure to observe more of the natives than was developed in the course of their troubled intercourse. The Floridans appear to have displayed none of those republican

* Hist. Gen. des Voyages, xiii. 448-58. De Bry, part ii.

forms, nor of that high spirit of personal independence which so strongly characterized the northern tribes. They had chiefs, or paraonstis, who were obeyed with enthusiastic loyalty and devotion. The veneration paid to them after death was also remarkable. We have seen the manner in which their remains were piled up in chests along the sides of the temples. These chests are said to have been of very neat workmanship, though without locks or keys. The mode of preserving the bodies, it is probable, might be similar to that which we shall afterwards find described by the historians of Virginia. The females appear to have been more on a level with the stronger sex. The labour of cultivation in this fine climate is not very severe, and, with other laborious tasks, is partly performed by slaves. The fair Floridans second their husbands in hunting, swimming rivers, and other athletic exercises; and, as may have been observed, are not even slow in taking the field along with them. Polygamy is permitted to the chiefs, and the punishment of adultery is very severe. Their houses, though built only of wood, were very large, each capable of containing a number of families; it is even asserted, that there were some in which fifteen hundred warriors might be posted. Their food was simple, consisting of bread made of millet, with various species of game and fish. The sassafras, which in Florida is of peculiar excellence, is used as a medicine in almost every disease.

CHAPTER IV.

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA.

Rise of Maritime Enterprise in England.—Sir Humphrey Gilbert.—His Arrival at Newfoundland.—Fate of his Expedition. —Sir Walter Raleigh—Sends an Expedition under Amadas and Barlow—Sir Richard Greenville—Lane—White—Gosnold.—Captain Thomas Smith—His Voyages and Adventures. —The Princess Pocahuntas.—Progress of the Settlements.— Conflicts with the Indians.—View of the Government, Religion, &c. of the Native Indians.

THE spirited and successful effort made by the English under Cabot was not followed up. Henry VII., notwithstanding his love of money and his political sagacity, was yet unable to appreciate the vast and solid advantages which might arise to the nation from "ships, colonies, and commerce." More might have been expected from the bustling temper of Henry VIII.; but, engrossed by the continual care of marrying and unmarrying himself, of breaking with the church of Rome, dictating successive forms of worship, and persecuting all who did not change at the same moment with himself; lastly, engaged in hold-

ing the balance even, as he supposed, between the great continental rivals, he had neither leisure nor inclination to embark in distant enterprises. All that was done during his long reign was done by the nation itself. Sebastian Cabot was sent on an expedition to the coast of Brazil; but, finding no farther encouragement, he left the English service, and took up his residence at Seville. Other expeditions, however, were sent towards Newfoundland, and two for the discovery of the north-west passage; but the issue of these last being very disastrous, a pause ensued to all further exertion.

The reign of Edward VI. seemed likely to form a brilliant era in the annals of maritime discovery. That promising young prince, guided by able counsellors, applied himself with ardour to promote the commercial interests of the nation. Under his auspices were incorporated the company of merchant adventurers for the discovery of regions, dominions, islands, and places unknown. Sebastian Cabot was invited back to England, and, at the advanced age of upwards of seventy, was invested with the rank of governor of the company and grand pilot of England. He did not, however, undertake any voyage in person, but drew up a series of instructions for those employed, which justify his high reputation for nautical skill. It happened, rather unfortunately, that the English concentrated their hopes and enterprises almost exclusively in the discovery of a northern passage to India. This object, alike hopeless and perilous, they sought first to accomplish by an easterly course along the north of Asia,—a route which proved wholly

impracticable. Sir Hugh Willoughby, with his gallant crew, were arrested in a Norwegian port, and frozen to death. Although, therefore, Chancelor discovered and opened an intercourse with Russia by the way of Archangel, a gloomy impression was felt by the nation upon this subject. Soon after, the premature death of Edward, and the accession of Mary, forced the people of England into a different train of ideas. The persecutions to which their religion was exposed engrossed all their attention; and Mary, blindly devoted to the views of Philip, checked every thing which could interfere with those unbounded claims which Spain advanced to the dominion of the western world.

The accession of Elizabeth produced a grand and auspicious change. That prudent princess, though not lavish of her treasure, inspired and seconded the enterprising spirit of her people, which, combining with antipathy against Spain, impelled them specially to American adventure. The first efforts were again directed to an Indian passage, now sought by the north of America; but notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the most eminent naval characters,—Frobisher, Davis, Hudson,—they proved, as we shall hereafter see, entirely abortive. At length, Sir Humphrey Gilbert of Compton, in Devonshire, distinguished by his rank and military reputation, formed first the design of leading a colony into America. If the queen did not furnish any funds, she gave, at least, a patent, conveying to Sir Humphrey the most ample gifts and powers. He, his heirs and assignees for ever, were to have, hold, and occupy all such heathen and barbarous

lands as he might discover. No one, without their permission, was to approach within two hundred miles of their settlement. The said Sir Humphrey, his heirs and successors, had full power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and rule, both in civil and criminal matters, both by sea and land, "according to their good discretions and policies." The queen reserved for herself only homage, and the fifth part of all the gold and silver which might be discovered and worked.*

The first equipment of Sir Humphrey failed, even before it set out. Being composed in a great measure of "voluntary men of diverse dispositions," there was a great failure when it came to the push. Many lost courage and deserted the cause, others broke into quarrels, and Sir Humphrey was at last obliged to set out with only a few of his own tried friends. He encountered the most adverse weather, and was obliged to return with the loss of "a tall ship, and, more to his griefe, of a valiant gentleman, Miles Morgan." This was a severe blow, as Sir Humphrey had embarked a large mass of substance in this undertaking. However, his determination continued unshaken; and by the aid of Sir George Peckham, Sir Walter Raleigh, and other persons of distinction, he was enabled to equip another, with which, in the year 1583, he again put to sea.†

The equipment with which Sir Humphrey set forth to take possession of an empire greater than that

* Hackluyt, iii. 135-8. † Ibid. iii. 146.

of Cæsar and Alexander, appeared very inadequate to such mighty projects. The largest vessel, furnished by Sir Walter Raleigh, was only of 200 tons. The Delight, in which the admiral mounted his own flag, was only 120; the Golden Hind and the Swallow were of 40 tons each; and the Squirrel of 10 tons. The crew consisted only of 260 men, "skilled in every faculty," masons, carpenters, and particularly those learned in working and refining metals. The zeal, however, of English seamen had been so faint, that it was necessary to eke out the crews from those of pirates captured in the narrow seas, and who, as will be seen, by no means dropt entirely their original vocation. They carried also musicians, toys, as "morris-dancers, hobby-horses, and many like conceits, to delight the savage people," as well as some petty haberdashery for traffic.

The expedition sailed from Concert Bay on the 11th May, 1538. On the 13th, the Delight intimated, that there was much sickness on board of her, and in the course of the following night she was found to have turned back. This loss of the most powerful vessel in the fleet was a severe blow; and gentle hints are given, that this sickness was partly of the heart. Raleigh surely could not be much edified with such a prompt retreat of the vessel which he had been at great pains to equip; but it does not appear that any proceedings were ever held on the subject. The expedition had its course retarded by westerly winds and heavy fogs, in the course of which the Swallow and Squirrel were separated from the rest. About the end of July, the English came to the famous bank,

which they knew without sounding, by the incredible number of sea-fowls which darkened the air. The English were variously affected by the first view of this unknown world, of which they were to become the denizens. Most of the narrators seek to present it under the most flattering colours. According to Hayes, " nothing appeared but nature itselfe without art; who confusedly hath brought forth roses abundantly, wilde, but odoriferous, and to sense very comfortable." He also doubts not that there are and may be made " divers commodities both for support and traffic," though without specifying any. Sir George Peckham also reports it as somewhat warmer than England at this season, replenished with beasts and great store of fowls; and he promises hereafter to recount sundry other commodities. But Parmenius, a learned correspondent of Hackluyt, roundly writes, —" My good Hackluyt, what shall I say of the manner of this country, when I see nothing but a very wilderness?" He agrees, however, with others as to the abundance of goodly fish, both salt water and fresh, which, according to Sir George, might suffice to victual an army.

On this coast the ships met again their companion, the Swallow. Its deck presented a somewhat surprising sight. The crew, mostly gleaned from the rovers of the narrow seas, had been very scantily attired and equipped, but now they appeared all newly and handsomely clad; in joy of which they were dancing and waving their caps in the air. The general hastened to trace the origin of so sudden a transformation, for which this part of the world seemed to

afford so little materials. The explanation was most unsatisfactory. They had met a bark returning to Europe from the fishery, on which the men, "following still their kind," cast a longing eye. Knowing, however, the captain as a man who would not sanction any piratical conduct, they merely solicited and obtained permission to go on board for a short time, to borrow a few things of which they stood in need, solemnly promising not to commit the slightest outrage. In pursuance of this engagement, as soon as they got on board, they began stripping the men of clothes, food, sails, tackle, and every thing that could be found on board; they then had recourse to a peculiar process of winding cords around their heads, by which torture they compelled them to give up every thing of value in their possession. Having effected all this with singular expedition, "like men practised in such matters," they returned to the ship: "but God took vengeance of them not long after."

Sir Humphrey found thirty-six vessels, twenty of which were foreigners, busily employed in this great fishery. Over these he immediately began to exercise that authority, which he conceived to be vested in him by the royal patent. His first use of it was in remedying those deficiencies which could not but be felt at the end of so long a voyage. Each ship was desired to make out a list of its wants, which was delivered to the Portuguese and other fishing-vessels, that they might divide among themselves the task of supplying them. This task, it is said, they not only undertook with the utmost alacrity, but, over and above their assigned quota, presented wines, marma-

lades, fine biscuit, and sundry other delicacies. That the Portuguese, however, should feel such ardent gratitude for being stripped of their property, does not seem very consonant to the ordinary laws of human nature. I am apt to think that Hackluyt's correspondent again lets out the real state of the case, when he says, "They being *not able to match us*, suffer us not to be by hunger starved." However, be this as it may, Hayes tells us, "we were supplied as if we had been in a country, or some city, populous and plentiful of all things."

Sir Humphrey now proceeded to fulfil his mission, by establishing his own and the queen's authority over this portion of the western world. A general meeting was called of the masters and merchants in the different vessels, both English and foreign; the queen's commission was read and interpreted; and notice was given, that this harbour of St John's, with a space of two hundred miles in every direction, was to be considered as appertaining entire to her majesty. To himself earth and wood were then delivered, in token of possession, vested in him, his heirs, and assignees, for ever, of this extensive territory. This announcement, it is said, was listened to with an applauding assent on the part of all present, both English and foreign,—the motives of which we leave the reader to conjecture. This measure was followed up by several statutes, among which were the following,—That if any thing were attempted prejudicial to her majesty's right and possession of these territories, the parties offending should be "adjudged and executed;" and that if any person should utter

words "sounding to the dishonour of her majesty," he should lose his ears. Although this could not be considered a very mild sway, yet the Portuguese, from the motive, perhaps, above hinted at, do not appear to have vented any complaint.

These matters being settled, Sir Humphrey became sensible that this rocky and dreary coast, which presented only an impenetrable pine-forest, could never afford that golden harvest of which he was in quest. The crew had been sensibly diminished in consequence of a very eager anxiety to return home to England. Several plots had been discovered to seize one or other of the ships for that purpose. Many fled into the woods, hoping to smuggle themselves to Europe with one or other of the numerous vessels which were then on the coast. A considerable number also being sick, were sent home in the Swallow; and Sir Humphrey set out with the other three vessels to examine the American coast. He went in the smallest himself, for the sake of facility in approaching the land. He does not seem to have been duly aware of the dangers of ranging along this almost unknown and exposed coast, perpetually involved in gloomy fogs. He seems also to have formed an overweening estimate of his own skill in seamanship, which could scarcely be of the first magnitude, as he was not bred to naval affairs. Clarke, master of the Delight, says that he remonstrated with him in the strongest manner against the course he was steering, saying it would bring them before morning among the flats of Sable Island. Sir Humphrey told him he was quite out of his reckoning,

and on Clarke persisting, charged him "in her majesty's name, and as he would show himself in the country," to follow his direction. Clarke, "because he presented her majesty's person," saw no choice but to obey. Coxe, of the Golden Hind, though of the same opinion, was also obliged to follow. According to the report of Hayes, who was on board that vessel, there were no symptoms of alarm among the crew of the Delight, who spent the evening in mirth and jollity, playing drums, fifes, cornets, and all their instruments; but it was like the song of the swan, and was the prelude "to the ringing of doleful knells." A heavy gale sprung up, and hurried them forward in the fatal career they were pursuing. At seven in the morning, Coxe called out that he saw white cliffs, but they proved to be only broken waves, seen dimly through the mist. The soundings, however, being taken, were found alarming, and signals were immediately made to the other two vessels; but before they could be acted upon, the Delight, which drew more water than the others, had struck, and immediately her whole stern went to pieces. The other vessels could give no assistance, as they were able to save themselves only by standing instantly out to sea. The only means of escape was by a little boat which had been put out, and was attached by a rope to the vessel. Several with difficulty reached it by swimming, and brought it to the spot, where they hauled out of the water sixteen of their fellow-sailors, including the master, but not the captain. It was some time before they could recall their senses, and they still could not believe it possible that in this

little boat, amid a dark and stormy sea, they could reach on these strange shores any haven of safety. After some time, however, it was found that the boat still lived; but the danger was greatly increased by its over-crowded state. Edward Headly then proposed to choose four by lot, and throw them into the sea, so as to increase the chance of saving the rest; but Clarke refused, saying they would live or die together, and "advising to abide God's pleasure, who was able to save all as well as a few." They remained six days out, without any food but the weeds which they found floating on the sea, or any drink but salt water. Two died; the rest were quite worn out, and wished to die, when they came in sight of the coast of Newfoundland. They were still able to assist each other on shore; those who had most strength left dragged the others to the nearest brook, where they quenched their thirst; and there were berries in abundance to satisfy their hunger. They then rowed five days along the coast, till they came to a Spanish vessel, which carried them to Europe.

Mean time the expedition were not a little dismayed at the loss of their largest vessel, with the bulk of their men. They beat about, however, for some time, in hopes of finding the shore; but, though tantalized by coming repeatedly to soundings of forty or fifty fathoms, they never could reach any part of the American coast. The weather was now very bad, and winter approaching, gave assurance of still worse, while their supply of provisions became more and more scanty. The crew of the frigate now represented to the general that there was nothing

left, but to return to England "before they all perished." They communicated these sentiments to the crew of the Golden Hind, who were too distant for speech, by pointing to their mouths and to their thin and ragged clothes; which signals were fully understood, and drew forth testimonies of cordial acquiescence. Sir Humphrey saw that he had no alternative; but, when he came to dine on board of the Golden Hind, made bitter lamentations over the loss of his vessel, his men, and, above all, it is said, his books and papers; and the crew chose to surmise, that something still more precious, gold itself, mingled in his regret. Though he had thus lost the best part of his fleet and his whole fortune embarked in it, his spirit did not fail. He desired the men "to be content, and he would set them forth royally the next spring." He would ask a penny of no man, but would make such representations to the queen as would induce her to lend him ten thousand pounds, with which he would set forth two voyages, one to the south and the other to the north.

It is now time, as Hayes expresses it, "to knit up this tragedy." It was observed to the general, that though the frigate, as it was called, but which was only a little boat of ten tons, might be well fitted for examining the coast, yet to attempt to cross the Atlantic with it, especially in its present overcharged and encumbered state, would be rash in the extreme. Sir Humphrey, however, obstinately replied, "I will not forsake my little company, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils." It is suspected that he was swayed by some idle reports that had

gone abroad, as if he was a coward at sea, and that he foolishly preferred "the wind of a vain report to the weight of his own life." They proceeded, however, in safety for three hundred leagues, till they came into the meridian of the Azores. They were then overtaken by a storm so violent, that "men, which all their lifetime had occupied the sea," never saw the like. The waves "broke short and high, pyramid-wise," which is supposed to have been occasioned by conflicting tides and currents. In the afternoon of 9th September the frigate was seen in evident danger, struggling with these terrible waves; but as the two vessels approached each other, Sir Humphrey appeared on deck, with a book in his hand, and called out to those on board the Hind, "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land." Darkness soon fell, and the storm continuing, the two crews kept their eyes fixed on each other's lights as the signal of safety. A little after midnight, the lights of the frigate suddenly disappeared, and neither Sir Humphrey nor his crew were ever heard of more. The Golden Hind, reduced almost to a wreck, returned alone, of that gay and flourishing armament which had so lately set forth to occupy and rule the nothern regions of the new world.*

Notwithstanding the gloomy issue of this expedition, and its total failure in making any discovery of importance, the nation continued strongly bent upon enterprises of this nature. Sir George Peckham

* Hackluyt, iii. 147-163.

wrote a long discourse, in which, with a great and somewhat superfluous display of learning, he argues in their favour. He specially occupies himself with her majesty's right to the entire sovereignty of the new world, which he does not establish in a very satisfactory manner. He rests chiefly on the expedition of Madoc, and on some words in the American language, which he insists are Welsh. He quotes also with triumph the speech of Montezuma, in which that prince is reported to have reminded the Mexicans that their forefathers had come from a far country under a leader who returned, promising to send others to rule over them,—"all which sufficiently proves the undoubted title of her majesty." He then recounts the various and rich commodities produced by this country, and endeavours to obviate the difficulties which were raised against his design.

The queen, though she liberally patronized every scheme for American discovery, and was ready to grant the most ample privileges to the adventurers, held her purse very close, and would not contribute the slightest aid of that nature. It was a doctrine, however, maintained by many, that without such princely aid success could not be hoped;—that "it was not for the merchant's purse to undertake the charges of transporting and planting." Against such "malicious persons, who would neither be actors in any good action themselves, nor so much as afford a good word to the setting forward thereof," Sir George strenuously argues. God, he says, had provided the means; for that, through his great mercy in preserving the people for so many years from slaughter,

plague, and pestilence, they were in such penury and want, that many would hazard their lives for a year's food and clothing, without wages; and this armament might be most cheaply equipped. He makes also a suggestion, which seems plausible enough, that the Newfoundland fishing-vessels going out empty might, along with the salt to be used in curing, take a number of emigrants.

Captain Christopher Carlile, in 1583, circulated proposals, which drew considerable attention. He proposed to transport and settle a hundred persons, who might form the foundation of a colony. The estimated cost was four thousand pounds, which he proposed to raise by subscription among the merchants. The land, and all its mines and productions, were to be divided among the subscribers, who were called adventurers, and the colonists, who were called enterprisers. The city of Bristol embraced this proposal with ardour, and subscribed a thousand pounds. Secretary Walsingham, whose nephew Carlile was, did every thing in his power to promote the enterprise; and the Moscovy merchants, the most active of the commercial bodies then in the kingdom, appointed a committee, who reported in its favour. But the queen did not produce a penny, and London and the other cities were found inadequate to contribute the other three thousand pounds.

Raleigh, the most remarkable perhaps of the great men who adorned this illustrious reign, undertook now, at his sole charge, this grand scheme of colonization. He had no difficulty in obtaining from the queen a patent as ample as that of Sir Humphrey.

He was allowed to take any two hundred miles in every direction of such "remote, heathen, and barbarous lands" as were not possessed by a Christian prince, nor inhabited by a Christian people. All who should migrate into this ample domain were to be ruled at the discretion of the said Sir Walter Raleigh, a single exception being made in favour of the Newfoundland fishery.*

Raleigh did not proceed in person to his new kingdom, but fitted out two small exploratory vessels, which he placed under the command of Amadas and Barlow, two skilful naval officers. To avoid the disasters which Sir Humphrey had sustained from the northern mists and tempests, they chose the still more circuitous route by the Canaries and the West Indies. They passed through the Bahama channel, and stood for some time to the northward. At length the soundings indicated an approach to land, and they felt wafted over the sea a gale of the richest odours, such as might have been exhaled from the most delicious garden. They approached cautiously and attentively, and found themselves on a long line of coast, but without any appearance of a harbour. The shore was low and sandy, but green hills rose in the interior; and there grew such a profusion of grapes as those who had travelled in the finest wine-countries of Europe had never seen equalled. They sailed one hundred and twenty miles before they were able to find a landing-place. When they at length succeeded, and had mounted the nearest hill, they were not a little sur-

* Hackluyt, iii. 243-5.

prised to discover that the whole of this range of coast belonged, not to America, but to an island adjoining to it. It was the long narrow island of Okakoke, which, enclosing Pimlico Sound, runs parallel to the greater part of North Carolina.

The English spent two days without seeing any people of the country; but on the third there appeared a boat with three men, one of whom began walking upon the beach opposite to them. They sent a boat on shore, which he awaited without any indication of fear, and began to speak fluently in his unknown language. He cheerfully accepted their invitation to go on board, ate their victuals, drank their wine, and, having received a shirt, a hat, and some other pieces of dress, departed with every symptom of the highest satisfaction. Other natives soon flocked in, and at length there appeared no less a person than Granganimeo, brother to the king, with a train of forty or fifty attendants. They were handsome men, very courteous in their demeanour, and viewed the chief with the most abject submission. They spread a mat for him to sit upon, and stood round him in a circle, none speaking a word, except four, marked as chiefs by red pieces of copper on their heads, who merely ventured to whisper in a low tone to each other. The English began to make presents,—first to Granganimeo, and then to his chiefs; but he took those of the last and put them into his own basket, making signs, which were assented to by the rest, that all things ought to be delivered to him alone. Commerce was the next object, for which a quantity of valuable skins brought by the Virginians formed a

desirable object. The English now displayed their treasures, when the affections of the prince were instantly fixed upon a tin plate, which he applied to his breast, and, having made a hole in the rim, hung it round his neck, and declared that he was now invincible against all his enemies. He considered it therefore a great bargain to get this tin plate, worth about sixpence, for twenty skins, valued at a noble a piece. A brass kettle brought fifty skins; so that the English must have found this a most profitable transaction. The copper-crowned chiefs, and no others, were permitted to trade.

The English made several excursions to different parts of the coast, particularly to Roanoke, where they found a queen, who loaded them with every mark of kindness. The two captains returned to England, bringing the most flattering accounts of their discovery. They say, "the soil is the most plentiful, sweet, fruitful, and wholesome of all the world. We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as lived after the manner of the golden age." These reports enchanted Raleigh, and filled the whole kingdom with the most pleasing expectations. The queen accepted the honour of giving name to this land of promise; which, in allusion to her unmarried state, was called Virginia.*

Sir Walter now strained every nerve, and expended almost his whole fortune, in preparing an expedi-

* Hackluyt, iii. 240-51.

tion suited to the grand objects presented to his veiw. He equipped a fleet of seven vessels, of a magnitude, however, very little fitted for crossing the Atlantic or conquering kingdoms. The largest was of one hundred and twenty tons, and three were mere boats. Other ambitious projects still detained himself at home; but the command of the expedition was taken by a most accomplished person, Sir Richard Greenville, accounted one of the chief ornaments of English chivalry, and, even in that age of gallantry, surnamed "the Brave." He still followed the circuitous route of the West Indies; and Robertson reproaches him with having wasted his time in sailing backwards and forwards amid these islands, and capturing Spanish prizes. This charge is not made with the usual accuracy of that great historian. Sir Richard sailed from Plymouth on the 19th of May, and was in Virginia on the 29th of June, so that he certainly lost no time. He did not take a single prize, and he merely touched at several of the islands for water and provisions, when the most studied courtesy passed between him and the Spaniards.

Sir Richard landed his colony; and, having done so, seems to have formed the erroneous idea that the most arduous part of his task was finished, instead of being only begun. The providing for the various unforeseen events of such an establishment, and the maintenance of the ties of fear and friendship over the savage natives, would have exercised the talents of the ablest statesman. They were intrusted to Mr Ralph Lane, who, though a person of some stir and activity, does not seem to have been at all equal to so

arduous a station. Considerable diligence was exerted, both in exploring the coast and penetrating into the country. The former was examined eighty miles to the south, and one hundred and thirty miles to the north, but without finding any commodious harbour. In this last direction, however, they came into the country of the Chesepians (on the Bay of Chesapeake), which appeared the finest they had ever yet seen. Lane, in a letter to Hackluyt, extols beyond all his predecessors this newly-discovered region. He says, —"We have discovered the main to be the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven;" adding afterwards,— "It is the goodliest and most pleasing territory of the world; for the soil is of a huge unknowen greatnesse, and very well peopled and towned, though savagelie."

The English penetrated also to the head of Roanoke Sound, which they found to be the estuary of the great river bearing now the same name. There they found Menatonon, the most powerful prince they had yet visited, being able to bring 700 men into the field. Here we suddenly find Lane holding Menatonon and his favourite son close prisoners. The father was set at liberty, but the son was still kept "handlocked," by which means Lane imagined that he could make Menatonon subservient to all his views. He did not consider that the king, though thus deterred from open hostility, had other means by which he could still more deeply injure the English. He immediately began giving reports of what was to be found up the country, which delighted Lane, who thought him "a very grave and wise man, of singular good discourse,"

and obtained from him "more understanding and light than from all the searches and salvages that before he had conference with." Pearls were represented as so abounding in the upper country of the Moratiks and the Mangoaks, that not only the garments of skins, but their beds and the walls of their houses, were bedecked with them. Much was also said of a wonderful species of copper, which was found high up in the sands of the river. Every day seemed now an age, till they were among the Mangoaks and Moratiks. Lane was assured by Menatonon, that in ascending the river he would find relays with provisions at every point, and that the Indian nations, whom he was about to visit, would be prepared to give him the kindest reception. He therefore embarked forty men on board of two wherries, and sailed up with the most sanguine expectations. Great was his disappointment, when he passed three days without seeing a human being, or an article which could serve as human food. All the towns were deserted, and every thing was withdrawn that could minister in the slightest measure to the wants of the English. Lane called his company together, and observed, that they were manifestly betrayed, and, as they had with them only two days' provision, there seemed no time to be lost in making their way back. The men replied, that they longed exceedingly to have some doings with the Mangoaks, either as friends or foes; that, in taking a further view of that most goodly river, "they hoped to meet with some better hap;" and that in the last event they had two mastiffs, which, being made into soup with sassafras leaves, would keep them alive for two

days. Since they were willing, Lane gave his hearty consent; but, in sailing on for two days longer, they still saw neither man nor food; and human life was indicated only by lights moving to and fro in the interior. At length, about three in the afternoon, a voice from the woods called out *Manteo.* Manteo was one of their Indian guides, and a joyful hope arose that a friendly intercourse was at length to be opened. Manteo, however, on hearing the voice, and a song which followed it, bid them be on their guard; —presently a cloud of arrows fell among them. They escaped any injury, and immediately landed and attacked the savages, who had "wooded themselves they knew not where." They kept watch through the night, and next day reflecting, that though they might meet the enemy, "they would meet none of their victual," determined, with one consent, "to be going back again." Lane now warned his crew, that they must come to their "dog's porridge, which they had bespoken for themselves, if that befell them which did." The crew could not possibly object; yet could not bring themselves to any relish for this diet, being of opinion, that "the like thereof for a meate was never used before."

The English returned to the coast only in time to avert a general rising. Their enemies had assured the other tribes, that their God having no power, had not been able to prevent them from being partly murdered and partly starved; which last, it is admitted, was half true. Soon a general confederacy of the surrounding states was formed, headed by Pemisapan, under the mask of the most ardent friendship. The

captive prince, however, having become attached to the English, disclosed the design, and named the very day on which an attack was to be made by three thousand archers. Eight days before, Pemisapan's men began to make their assembly at Roanoke; but 1500 more were still expected. Lane, understanding "they meant to come with so good company," resolved to pay the first visit. The evening before, "to keep them from advertisements," he began to collect the canoes on his side of the river; but the enemy, "privy to their own villanous purposes," held good espial both day and night. The alarm was soon given, and both parties flew to arms; but, after the exchange of a few shots, the savages fled into the woods. Yet Lane afterwards obtained an interview with Pemisapan and his chiefs, and amply repaid any treachery which might have been intended for him. On a watch-word given, all the Indian chiefs were attacked, and shot through the body. Pemisapan, pierced by a pistol-shot, lay on the ground apparently dead, but suddenly rose, and ran with incredible swiftness into the woods. Lane and his officers pursued, when they met his Irish servant coming out of the wood with Pemisapan's head in his hand.

Although present danger had been averted, the colonists began to turn a longing eye towards home. The enmity of the natives was now rooted, and, in hopes of starving the English, they had ceased to sow any of the lands round the settlement. The time appointed by Raleigh and Greenville for sending fresh supplies had passed. Amid these thoughts, the alarm was given, that twenty-three vessels were in view,

and no one could tell whether they were friends or foes. The interval of anxious suspense was most agreeably terminated, by finding this to be the fleet of Sir Francis Drake, returned from his victorious expedition against St Domingo, Carthagena, and other parts of the Spanish Main. Sir Francis sent a letter, with "a most bountiful and honourable offer" of supplies, provisions, and even of barks and vessels duly manned and equipped; and he was found, "indeed, most honourably to perform what he had most courteously offered." In the present temper of Lane and his colony, their primary object was to secure the means of returning to England; and they solicited, therefore, such a portion of shipping as might enable them to effect that object whenever the time might come which rendered it necessary. Drake assigned them a bark of seventy tons, and some smaller craft, with which they were quite satisfied. But just as this arrangement had been made, there arose a tempest of such extraordinary violence as would have driven the whole fleet on shore, "if the Lord had not held his holy hand over them." The barks destined for the colony were dashed to pieces, and Drake had no other small enough to enter the harbour. In this embarrassment, the officers and colony very readily made up their mind to get on board Drake's fleet, and make their way home to England. This purpose was fulfilled with the utmost precipitation. Hackluyt reproaches them as "having left all things so confusedly as if they had been chased from thence by a mighty army." Their conclusion, however, that Raleigh had deserted them, was most erroneous. A few days after

this hasty departure, arrived a vessel of a hundred tons, amply appointed with every thing which could relieve and assist the colony; but the crew, to their great amazement, found there was not a colony to relieve. They sailed along the coast, and made excursions into the country; but all search being vain, they set sail for England. A fortnight after arrived Sir Richard in person, with three well-appointed vessels, bringing every thing requisite to place the settlement in the most flourishing state. Great was his dismay, when neither the colony, nor the ship sent for their relief, nor any thing English, was to be found within these vast and savage precincts. He saw no choice left but to sail for England, leaving a party of fifteen, according to Hackluyt, but, according to Smith, of fifty, (which is a more probable number,) to hold the place till he should arrive with more ample supplies.*

Raleigh, amid all this complication of blunder, failure, and disaster, was not discouraged. He sent out a fresh and more ample colony of 150 persons, with three ships, under John White, as governor, and twelve assistants. They had a somewhat tedious voyage, setting sail from Plymouth on the 8th of May, and not arriving till the 22d July. On landing and looking for the fifty who had formed the colony, they saw only the bones of one,—a dreadful spectacle, which told too distinctly the fate of the rest. The fort was razed to the ground; the houses remained open to the air, and overgrown with grass and plants, on which

* Hackluyt, iii. 251-64.

deer were browzing. White, however, sent notice to the neighbouring chiefs, that, if they would accept the offer, he would be happy to open a friendly intercourse, and that all would be utterly forgiven and forgotten. They returned a courteous answer, saying, that they would, within eight days, either wait upon him, or send a more particular answer. White, mean time, learned the particulars of the fate of the fifteen, or the fifty, left by Sir Richard Greenville. They had been surprised and attacked by three hundred Indians, and had retreated into the building which served for store-house and armouries; but the Indians having set fire to it, they were obliged to come out, and were partly killed, and partly obliged to fly into the interior, where they were never more heard of. White, inflamed by this relation, and by hearing nothing more of the chiefs to whom he had made the overtures, "thought to defer the revenging thereof no longer." He was guided, therefore, to a party of the natives, whom he attacked as they were sitting round a fire, and pursued them into a thicket of reeds, when it was discovered that they belonged to one of the few tribes friendly to the English. This ill-placed burst of resentment was the only exploit achieved by White. The colonists, who felt many hardships and privations, unwonted and unexpected, absolutely insisted on his returning to England to bring them such supplies as were necessary for their comfort; and so urgent were they, that they allowed him, he says, only half a day to prepare for his departure. Unfortunately, on his arrival, the nation was wholly engrossed by the expected invasion of the grand Spanish Armada;

and Sir Richard Greenville, who was preparing to sail for Virginia, received notice that his services were wanted at home. Raleigh, however, contrived to send out White with two more vessels; but they were attacked by a Spanish ship of war, and so severely shattered, that they were obliged to return. It was not till 1590 that another expedition reached Virginia, when they beheld a similarly dreadful scene to that which had been presented on the former occasion. The houses were demolished, though still surrounded by a palisade; and a great part of the stores was found buried in the earth. From this and other circumstances it was suspected, that the colonists might have followed out a design of removing into the interior; but, as no trace was ever found of this unfortunate colony, there cannot be a hope, but that the whole must have miserably perished.*

Robertson reproaches Raleigh with levity in now throwing up his scheme of a Virginian colony. But really, when we consider, that in the course of four years he had sent out seven successive expeditions, each more unfortunate than the other, and had spent £40,000, nearly his whole fortune, without the least prospect of a return, it cannot be viewed as a very unaccountable caprice, that he should get sick of the business, and be glad to transfer it into other hands. Sir Richard Greenville also, in 1591, was overpowered by a much superior Spanish force, and taken prisoner, when he died in two days of his wounds,

* Hackluyt, iii. 281-94.

saying to those around him,—" Here die I, Richard Greenville, with a joyful and quiet mind, having ended my life like a true soldier, that fought for his country, queen, religion, and honour." As for Raleigh, his attention was henceforth engrossed by expeditions against the Spaniards, by plans for improving the Irish wastes, and by vain searches after the golden city in the interior of South America.

Sir Thomas Smith, and some other merchants of London, took up the patent, and sent the first expedition above-mentioned; but their exertions afterwards were greatly slackened; and, indeed, they probably found it very difficult to invite emigrants into a region which had proved the grave of so many English. The colonization of America was therefore suspended till it received a new impulse.

In 1602, Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, seemingly upon his own impulse, and perhaps with a view to the Newfoundland fishery, set sail from Dartmouth in a small vessel, with a crew of thirty-two men. The wind drove him at first as far south as the Azores, from whence he stood directly across the ocean, and found himself on that part of the coast of Connecticut which is diversified with the islands of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and a larger one close to the shore, which they called Elizabeth's Island. They found the soil exceedingly fertile, so that wheat, barley, and oats, being sown in the middle of May, grew nine inches in fourteen days. On going over to the main, " they stood a while, as ravished with the beauty and delicacy of the scene," which presented large and fine meadows, adorned with clear and ex-

tensive streams. They caught in six hours more cod than they knew what to make of; and the coast appeared so rocky and broken as to afford every promise of good harbours.

The account which Gosnold spread of this first voyage to "the north parts of Virginia," roused the almost dormant attention of the English to this quarter of the world. It presented to their eyes a new country, and gave a much more extensive idea of that vast dominion which, under the above name, stood nominally attached to the British empire. In 1606, Thomas Arundel, Lord Wardour, an accomplished and spirited nobleman, fitted out a vessel, and sent it, under Captain Weymouth, to make further discoveries. Weymouth, following the same route as Gosnold, brought home a most favourable report; but it is very difficult, from the only narrative, which is that given by Rosier, to determine what part of the coast it was which he really did visit. He describes a noble river, preserving a breadth of a mile for forty miles upwards into the country, and adds, assuredly with some exaggeration, that "Orenoque, so famous in the world's ears," was not comparable to it. Stith supposes this river to be the Massachusetts, or Connecticut, but I should much rather suppose it the Hudson. He speaks of a bay, and mentions "all the isles, channels, and inlets about it,"—expressions which seem very applicable to the arm of the sea enclosed between Long Island and the continent. The soil is described as most rich, "verged with a green border of grass," and which, when cleared of the thick woods with which it was covered,

might be formed into the most beautiful meadow. Weymouth might have found opportunity for trade; but he would not "hazard so hopeful a business," and regarded nothing but "a public good, and promulgating God's Holy Church."

The nation were now prepared to make an effort, on a much greater scale than ever, to possess and colonize the new world. Equal ardour was felt in London and in the western ports of Plymouth and Bristol,—the quarters which then nearly concentrated the maritime resources of the kingdom. To Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, Richard Hackluyt, and other Londoners, was granted the patent for the south colony, which was supposed to afford the greatest scope for capital and commercial enterprise; while the merchants of the west, which was supposed to contain the hardiest sailors and most skilful fishers, received the patent for northern Virginia. The limits were somewhat oddly adjusted; those of the first colony being from 34° to 41°. N. latitude, and those of the latter from 38° to 45°; so that three degrees were common to both; however, it was ordained, that when one had taken his station, the other should take care to be a hundred miles distant from it. Wherever that station was, each company was to have fifty miles of coast on each side of it, or a hundred in all. They were also to have a hundred miles out to sea, and a hundred miles inland. They were not, however, invested with any of that high jurisdiction which had made Gilbert and Raleigh almost nominal kings of the new world. James I., faithful to his arbitrary principles, did not even al-

low any form of representative government, but vested the whole power in a council nominated by the crown.

The southern, or London company, whose steps we are first to follow, were those who first put forth an expedition on a considerable scale. The year 1606 was employed in collecting emigrants, and on the 19th December an expedition of three vessels sailed from London. Captain Newport had the naval command, and it comprised a number of persons of distinction, among whom was even George Percy, brother to the Earl of Northumberland. But the person who afterwards contributed most to the welfare of the settlement was Captain John Smith, who possessed all those qualities of firmness, intrepidity, and perseverance, which could fit him for the arduous task of founding a colonial establishment. He had been appointed one of the council; but, as he was taking that leading part to which his talents entitled him, a mean jealousy seized the rest, who asserted that he had it in view to take possession of the country, and make himself king of Virginia. Upon this vague charge he was arrested, and kept thirteen months in close confinement. Various accidents protracted their voyage till nearly the end of April. On approaching the coast of Virginia, they encountered a violent storm, which carried them out of their reckoning, and they sailed three days without any view of the expected land. So disconsolate were they, that several began to urge the necessity of steering their course direct towards England. At length they descried a hitherto unknown cape, forming the en-

trance into a spacious gulf. This was Cape Henry, opening into the magnificent Bay of the Chesapeake, the beauty and fertility of whose shores surpassed all that they had yet seen of the American continent. Mr Percy says, "I was almost ravished at the sight thereof." They were not long, however, of experiencing the enmity, which by this time seems to have been deeply rooted in the minds of the savages against every thing English. A party having gone on shore for recreation, "came the savages creeping upon all four, from the hills, like bears, with their bows in their mouths." These they discharged in the faces of the English, severely wounding Captain Archer and a sailor, till, "having felt the sharpness of our shot," they fled with loud cries into the woods.* However, when the fleet came to Cape Comfort, they saw five savages, who were only "timersome," and on the captain laying his hand on his heart, they laid down their arrows, and made signs to come ashore to their town. The English reached it by rowing over a river, while the savages swam across, holding their bows and arrows in their mouths. The reception was singular. They made a doleful noise, laying their faces to the ground, scratching the earth with their nails. "We did think they had been at their idolatry." However, they then spread mats on the ground, and covered them with such dainties as the country afforded, crowned with tobacco, smoked out of long ornamented pipes. They then entertained

* Percy in Purchas, iv. 1687.

the strangers with a dance, which consisted in beating their hands, shouting, howling, and stamping, "like so many wolves, or devils." After all this done for their entertainment, the English took leave.

As the expedition proceeded higher up the bay, among people who had probably never before seen Europeans, they were received still more cordially. The Werrowannee of Rappahana met them with all his train; "as goodly men," says Mr Percy, "as I have seen of savages or Christians. His body was painted all of crimson, with a chain of beads about his neck, his face painted blue, besprinkled with silver ore, as we thought, his ears all behung with bracelets of pearle, and in either ear a bird's claw, beset with fine copper or gold: he entertained us in so modest a proud fashion as though he had been a prince of civil government." He invited them to his palace on the top of a hill, watered by some beautiful rivulets, and covered with the finest corn-fields, and entertained them "in good humanity." A gentleman having a very strong target, which could resist even small shot, set it up for an Indian to shoot at. The Indian took his arrow of cane, an ell long, headed with very sharp stones, and pierced the target through and through. They then set up a steel target, against which the arrow was broken in pieces, upon which the Indian took out another, bit it in rage and went away.

The English having found a fine river, which they called James's River, ascended it forty miles, and built James's Town, the most ancient inhabited place in the United States, though it has never risen to very great

importance. They were soon, however, involved in unexpected distress. Sir Thomas Smith, as one of the leading members of the company, having been intrusted with supplying provisions, had shamefully furnished them of very bad quality; and the grain, "having funked for six and twenty weeks in the ship's hold," was little better than bran, and had as many worms as grains. Want was soon followed by disease, which, before September, carried off fifty of the company. In this distressful condition, all eyes were turned towards Smith, as the only man who could provide a remedy for so many evils, and with one consent they vested in him the supreme command.

Smith having provided as well as he could for the interior comfort of the colony, set forth to collect provisions in the surrounding country. The Indians, however, received his party with derision, "as famished men," and, holding out morsels of bread, asked for them swords, muskets, and whatever was most valuable. Smith, seeing nothing could be done by "trade or courtesy," deemed it a matter of necessity to discharge his muskets, upon which they all fled into the woods. The English then entered a village, which was found well stocked with provisions, and they were anxious to have carried these off at once; but he (we do not well know why) insisted upon remaining till the Indians returned, as he doubted not they would soon do. Soon, accordingly, was heard an hideous noise, and there issued forth from the woods sixty or seventy, painted black, white, and red, singing, dancing, and bearing in front their okee,

or idol, an image of skins stuffed with moss, painted, and hung with chains of copper. In this guise, they made a furious assault on the English, who, however, received them so *kindly* "that down fell their god," several lay stretched on the ground, and the rest fled screaming into the woods. Their spirit was now humbled, and there soon came out a venerable personage, a quiónghkasouk, to make overtures of peace, and treat for their god. Smith assured them that they should have okee and every thing of theirs he had, with beads and hatchets besides, provided they would hold friendly intercourse, and assist in loading his boat with provisions. They closed with the offer, and an intercourse, of at least outward cordiality, succeeded to the deadly hostility of the two parties.

Smith, after having made some farther excursions, returned to James's Town only in time to arrest a plot which had arisen among what he oddly calls the "tuftaffety" part of the colony, to break up and return to England. Having managed matters as he best could among this turbulent race, he again set out to explore the Chickahominy, the chief tributary of James's River, and whose banks were singularly rich in corn. He sailed so high, that he could get forward his barge only by cutting the trees by which the stream was overhung, and at last was obliged to leave it, and proceed up in a canoe with four of the party, of whom two were Indians. His caution now forsook him. Twenty miles up, having reached the marshes at the head of the river, he left his men at the canoe, and began shooting in the desert. All this time the

Indians had been on the watch; the two men were attacked and killed, and Smith suddenly found himself in the midst of two or three hundred infuriate savages. In this extremity, he made unheard-of efforts for his deliverance. He seized his Indian guide, whom he tied round himself with his garters, and, presenting him to the enemy, made him serve as a buckler. In this position he retreated upon the canoe; but, just as there appeared a near prospect of regaining it, he suddenly sunk half-way up in a swamp, was overtaken and made prisoner.

Smith had now reason to consider his career as drawing to a close. In fact, he had been tied to a tree, and a circle formed for the purpose of shooting him, when, calling for their chief, Opechankanough, he exhibited to him an ivory compass-dial, and explaining to him its application to the movement of the heavenly bodies, entranced him and his attendants with astonishment and admiration. On a signal made by the chief with the compass, all the bows and arrows were laid down, and Smith was led, carefully guarded, to their capital. He was then led from town to town, and exhibited to the women and children, who crowded to see him, and received him with strange yells and dances. Every day there was set down to him as much bread and venison as would have dined twenty men; but as no one sat down with him, and there was no corresponding mark of kindness, Smith began to dread that they were fattening for the purpose of eating him. This was not exactly the case; yet it is true that such festal entertainment was often the prelude to the most fatal purpose. At length, when he

had been sufficiently led about, three days were employed in making a most dire conjuration over him. The chief performer was a grim figure, having his face painted black with coal and oil, and numerous stuffed skins of snakes and weasels fastened by the tail to the crown of the head, and hanging down frightfully over the face and shoulders. He was seconded by others, whom white eyes and red stripes mingled with the black rendered still more hideous. They intermingled circles of meal and corn with bundles of sticks, interpreting that the meal was the Indian country, the corn the sea, and the sticks England; and this was all to discover whether he intended them well or ill. The result does not appear to have been stated to Smith; but he was soon led before Powhatan, the greatest lord of all this part of Virginia. The English even call him Emperor. Powhatan arrayed himself in his utmost pomp on this solemn occasion. He had invested himself in a large robe of racoon skins, from which all the tails were hanging. Behind him stood two long rows of men, and behind them two of women, all with their faces and shoulders painted red, their heads bedecked with white down, and a chain of white beads round their necks. One of the queens presented Smith with a towel to wash his hands, another with a bundle of feathers to dry them. The fatal moment was now approaching. Two large stones were placed before Powhatan, to which Smith, by the united efforts of the attendants, was forcibly dragged, his head laid on one of them, and the mighty club raised,—a few blows from which was to terminate his life. But a very

unexpected interposition now took place. Pocahontas, the favourite daughter of Powhatan, forgetful of her barbarous birth and name, was seized with those emotions of tender pity which make the ornament of her sex. She ran up to her father, and pathetically pleaded for the life of the stranger. When all entreaties were lost on that stern and savage potentate, she hastened to Smith, snatched his head in her arms, and laid her own on his, declaring that the first blow must fall upon her. The heart even of a savage father was at last melted, and Powhatan granted to his favourite daughter the life of Smith. At first it was arranged that he should amuse the father and daughter by making bells, beads, and other curious European fabrics. A different course, however, was soon resolved upon. Smith was placed alone in a large house beside a fire; when presently he heard from without a most frightful and doleful noise, and Powhatan rushed in, with two hundred attendants, having their faces blacked, and disguised in every frightful form that their fancy could devise. Smith thought his last hour was again at hand; but Powhatan told him, that these were the signs of peace and friendship, and that he should be sent back to James's Town, on the sole condition of transmitting two culverines and a millstone.*

Smith arrived at a critical moment. The colonists had again determined to return to their native country, and were busied in fitting out a pinnace for the

* Smith *ap.* Pinkerton, xiii. 51-5.

voyage. Smith took the strong hand, and announced that either the pinnace must stop or be sunk; and, under the influence of this alternative, they were frightened into remaining. Pocahontas, continuing her generous kindness, brought them every three or four days supplies of provisions, till a fresh vessel arrived from England.

Smith soon afterwards set out to complete his survey of the Bay of Chesapeake. He crossed first to its eastern shore, and coasted along that long narrow peninsula, which there forms its border. He was variously received,—the natives in general coming "in much surprise, asking what they were, and what they would." Smith always used the means of conciliation; and generally some friendly explanations, and the presentation of a few beads, led to a friendly intercourse. In other cases, the natives remained fixed in their hostility, and Smith was then forced to discharge among them the terrors of his musketry. In one place he was so nearly killed by the poisoned sting of a pembar-fish, that, by his own desire, they had dug his grave; but either nature or a salutary oil administered by Dr Russell cured him before night. In the course of a fortnight, the men, being tired of plying the oar, and finding their bread spoiled by the wet, became clamorous to return home; and their call being seconded by two or three days of very bad weather, Smith could no longer make head against them. He turned most reluctantly, however, being anxious to see the great river Patowomek (Potowmack), and to visit the Massowomeks, who were represented as the most numerous and powerful of all

the nations on the bay. Suddenly, to his great satisfaction, in steering across, he came to the "seven miles broad" mouth of the Potowmack. This was so grand an object, that the men resumed their spirits and agreed to ascend it. They found the country populous but hostile; and at one place an ambuscade of three or four thousand started up, grimed, disguised, shouting, yelling, crying, like spirits from hell. However, upon the mere grazing of musket-balls upon the water, "down fell their bows and arrows," and an amicable intercourse took place. Their enmity, it appeared, had been fomented by Powhatan, who had again resumed his hostile feelings towards Smith. A considerable way up they found a mine of antimony, which the natives extracted with shells and hatchets, and prized the mineral highly, as the means of painting their body black, yet glittering like silver.

Having returned to James's Town, Smith again set out, with the view of reaching the river of Susquehannah, at the farthest head of this great bay. His vessel, however, could not reach it on account of rocks; but he sent up a message, requesting a visit from the Susquehannocks, who were represented as a mighty people. After an interval of three or four days there appeared sixty,—a giant-like race,—with presents of arms, venison, and tobacco-pipes three feet long. Five of their chief Werrowannees came on board, and sailed across the bay without the least apprehension. Smith now thoroughly explored all the creeks and outlets of the Chesapeake, particularly that of Rappahannock, where, however, a thousand arrows were at one place let fly at his party, though

happily without doing any injury. The narrators, on the whole, consider that this voyage of three thousand miles, by twelve men in a small barge, "with such watery diet in those great waters and barbarous countries," threw no little credit on its performers.*

Pocahontas for several years kept up her acquaintance with the English, coming back and forward to James's Town with her wild train as familiarly as if it had been her father's house. Powhatan, however, dissatisfied with Smith's mode of trading, which does not seem to have been excessively liberal, formed the design of killing him in the woods. His life was again saved by the fair Indian princess, who ran through the forest in a dark night, and warned him of his danger. She was hereupon offered large presents of every thing she was known most to delight in; but she told them, with tears in her eyes, it was as much as her life was worth to be seen having such things, and ran back alone through the woods.

Open war now ensuing between Powhatan and the English, a stop was put to this amicable intercourse. Smith himself, through a wound received from an accidental explosion of gunpowder, was obliged to return to England; but we shall here follow out the story of his fair deliverer. One Captain Argall, having been sent up the Potowmack to trade for corn, heard that Pocahontas, whom he had often heard called the nonpareil of Virginia, was at a village on the river. Hereupon he induced a common friend, Japa-

* Smith *ap.* Pinkerton, xiii. 61-72.

zaws, by the irresistible bribe of a copper kettle, to inveigle her on board. Thus, through his means, was the poor innocent Pocahontas betrayed into the ship, when she was told that she must repair to James's Town, that her liberation might be the means of purchasing peace. This base transaction did not produce the desired effect. Powhatan was three months before he returned an answer to the terms on which the English offered to liberate his daughter. He then, indeed, sent seven English captives, with seven bad muskets, and an offer of five hundred bushels of maize; but these were rejected, as inadequate to the value of their fair prize, who remained, therefore, two years in their custody. It can only be said in their defence, that she appears to have been perfectly well treated, insomuch that she became more and more attached to the English manners and character. At length to the chains of captivity were added those of love. Mr Thomas Rolfe, a very respectable and deserving young man, was smitten with the dignified demeanour and copper complexion of Pocahontas, and having paid his addresses, soon met a tender return. Sir Thomas Dale refers to a very judicious letter which he received from him, giving his reasons for forming this connexion, which has unluckily not been preserved. Through Sir Thomas and her lover she was instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, which she cordially embraced, and was baptized by the name of Rebecca. The communication was made with some apprehension to the proud and savage king; but he was quite delighted, and concluded thereupon a treaty of amity, which

he never after violated. He did not choose to appear in person, but he sent his brother and one of his sons to act his part at the marriage. Soon after the Lady Rebecca, alias the Princess Pocahontas, alias Mrs Rolfe, set sail to visit England. As soon as Smith heard of her arrival he wrote a letter to the queen, recounting all her services to himself and to the nation, assuring her majesty that she had a great spirit, though a low stature, and earnestly soliciting her majesty's kindness and courtesy. Mrs Rolfe was accordingly introduced, and well received at court, and, as a novelty, was for some time the favourite object in the circles of fashion and nobility. On her introduction into these she deported herself with a grace and propriety which, it is said, many ladies, bred with every advantage of education and society, could not equal. Purchas mentions meeting her at the table of his patron, Dr King, bishop of London, where she was entertained with "festival state and pomp," beyond what at his hospitable board was shown to other ladies. She carried herself as the daughter of a king, and was respected as such. She was accompanied by Vitamotomakkin, an Indian chief and priest, who had married one of her sisters, and had been sent to attend her. Purchas saw him repeatedly "sing and dance his diabolical measures." He endeavoured to persuade this chief to follow the example of his sister-in-law, and embrace Christianity; but found him "a blasphemer of what he knew not, preferring his god to ours." He insisted that their okee having taught them to plant, sow, and wear a cork twisted round their left ear,

was entitled to their undivided homage. Powhatan had instructed him to bring back every information respecting England, and particularly to count the number of people, furnishing him for that purpose with a bundle of sticks, that he might make a notch for every man. Vitamotomakkin, the moment he landed at Plymouth, was appalled at the magnitude of the task before him; however, he continued notching most indefatigably all the way to London; but the instant that he entered Piccadilly, he threw away the sticks, and, on returning, desired Powhatan to count the leaves on the trees and the sands on the seashore. He also told Smith that he had special instructions to see the English God, their king, their queen, and their prince. Smith could do nothing for him as to the first particular; but he was taken to the levee, and saw the other three, though he complained bitterly that none of them had made him any present.

As soon as Smith learned that Pocahontas was settled in a house at Brentford, which she had chosen, in order to be out of the smoke of London, he hastened to wait upon her. His reception was very painful. The princess turned from him, hid her face, and for two hours could by no effort be induced to utter a word. A certain degree of mystery appears to hang on the origin of this deadly offence. Her actual reproaches, when she found her speech, rested on having heard nothing of him since he left Virginia, and on having been assured there that he was dead. Prevost has taken upon him to say, that the breach of plighted love was the ground of this resent-

ment, and that it was only on believing that death had dissolved the engagement between them that she had been induced to marry another. I cannot in any of the original writers meet with the least trace of this alleged vow, and should be sorry to find in Smith the false lover of the fair Pocahontas. It would not also have been in much unison with her applauded discretion to have resented a wrong of this nature in such a time and manner. I am persuaded that this love was a creation of the romantic brain of Prevost, and that the real ground of her displeasure was, that, during the two years when she was so shamefully kept in durance, she heard nothing of any intercession made in her favour by one whom she had laid under such deep obligations; and really the thing seems to require some explanation. It appears, that when Smith at last was able to draw speech from the indignant fair one, he succeeded in satisfying her that there had been no such neglect as she apprehended, and she insisted on calling him by the name of father.

The only mortification which Pocahontas met with was from James, who took it into his head that Rolfe in marrying her might be advancing a claim to the crown of Virginia; however, by great pains, this idea was at last driven out of his brain. She departed, therefore, with the most favourable impressions, and with every honour, her husband being appointed secretary and recorder-general of Virginia. But Providence had not destined that she should ever revisit her native shore. As she went down to embark at Gravesend, she was seized with

illness, and died in a few days. Her end is described to have edified extremely all the spectators, and to have been full of Christian resignation and hope.*

During this time a negotiation was opened with Powhatan for another of his daughters, who, it was promised, should be married in a manner equally respectable and satisfactory as her elder sister. Powhatan, after making some wry faces, replied, that he was altogether disposed to cultivate the friendship and alliance of the English; but his daughter he could not give, having sold her to a great chief for two bushels of tobacco. Mr Hamer urged upon him the unsatisfactory nature of this reason, and that the English were ready to give a consideration, either in tobacco or any other shape, much more adequate to the value of her highness. The truth then came out. It was too much, he said, to deprive him of both his darling children. He was ready to give them any other pledge of peace, but not this. There had been enough of blood and war, and he was determined to spend the rest of his days in tranquillity.

The colony, mean time, proceeded with various but on the whole troubled fortunes. The materials were by no means of a promising or desirable description. Smith describes them as "poor gentlemen, tradesmen, serving-men, libertines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoil a commonwealth than either to begin or maintain one." As they went out usually with extravagant hopes of sudden

* Smith, *ap.* Pinkerton, xiii. 120-23. Beverley. Prevost. Hist. Gen. des Voyages, xiv. 471. Purchas, iv. 1774.

and brilliant wealth, they paid little regard to any solid or substantial pursuit, and scorned even the slight labour which was necessary to draw subsistence from this fertile soil. Hence the repeated extremities to which they were reduced by famine, which so often impelled them to re-embark for England, had they not been relieved by the active succession of supplies which were transmitted to the colony. In 1619, James gave orders for "a hundred dissolute persons"* to be delivered by the knight marshal for transportation to Virginia; and the same mode of recruiting was continued for several years. These dissolute persons were not unwelcome, to be employed as labourers, or rather as slaves; but the practice, by giving to Virginia the reputation of "a mere hell upon earth," only fit for the reception of the vilest malefactors, lowered the character of the voluntary emigrants; and in 1625, of nine thousand, transported at an expense of £150,000, there were alive only eighteen hundred,† and the exports did not exceed twenty thousand pounds. The first great evil was insubordination, to remedy which martial law, on the advice, it is said, of Lord Bacon, was introduced, and, though contrary to every British idea, and without an example even under Spanish tyranny, it seems to have been the first thing which brought these loose and turbulent spirits to any degree of order and industry. The administration of the exclusive company, however, mismanaged, as it

* Stith's Hist. Virginia, 167-8. † Chalmers's Annals of United Colonies, 69.

was alleged to have been by Sir Thomas Smith, was always complained of as contracted and tyrannical. The colonists imputed to it a large proportion of their evils, and even sent home a petition, that, rather than continue them under it, the king would send out a commission to hang them.* James was not at all unwilling to listen to complaints which afforded an opening for the enlargement of his prerogative. He commenced a series of pretty arbitrary proceedings, by means of which he procured the forfeiture of the company's charter. Charles I., who immediately succeeded, sent out Sir John Hervey to rule with absolute sway, which he did in so arbitrary a manner, that the colonists found themselves worse than before, and in three years seized and sent him back a prisoner to Charles. Such a proceeding was foreign to all the ideas of that prince, who would not even see the deputies, and indignantly returned them their governor; but he took a second and better thought on the subject, and sent out Sir William Berkeley, a most wise and able person, who was even empowered to grant a representative government and the benefits of British law. Under his salutary administration, they contracted even a strong attachment to the house of Stuart, and could boast of being the last who submitted to the yoke of the Commonwealth and the first who shook it off. Under his management the colony continued in a steady state of prosperity, and in 1670 could number forty thousand inhabitants.

* Stith's History of Virginia, 307.

Among the commodities sought in Virginia, gold, as usual, was the primary object; and whenever there appeared any mineral substance of a yellow colour, then, as Smith says,—"Dig gold, wash gold, refine gold!" became all the cry. Several ships were loaded with this yellow trash, which, whenever it arrived in England, was pronounced to be utterly worthless. Tobacco next succeeded, and from the empire which it acquired over the tastes of Europe, became a stable source of wealth to Virginia. Raleigh, while his mind was bent on Virginia, introduced it at the court of Elizabeth, where it seems to have been the subject of considerable mirth. Raleigh offered to bet with the queen, that he would measure the smoke from it,—a challenge which the queen readily accepted, under the full assurance of gaining. Raleigh weighed first the tobacco, and having smoked it, weighed then the ashes; arguing, that the difference of these two elements must have evaporated in smoke. The queen admitted his reasoning, and observed, that she had often seen gold turned into smoke, but never till now smoke turned into gold. The quantity, however, was too small to become an object of general consumption; but when the colony was at last formed on a greater scale, tobacco was the only article which found a sure sale, and was accounted by the colonists their money. They cultivated it, therefore, to the neglect of every other object of industry, planting with it the very streets of James's Town. Tobacco, however, had many trials to pass through before it reached its present established station. King James declared himself its open enemy, and drew against it

his royal pen. In the work which he entitled "Counterblast to Tobacco," he poured the most bitter reproaches on "this vile and nauseous weed." He followed it up by a proclamation to restrain "the disorderly trading in tobacco,"* as tending to a general and new corruption of both men's bodies and minds. Parliament also took the fate of this weed into their most solemn deliberation. Various members inveighed against it, as a mania which infected the whole nation; that ploughmen took it at the plough; that it "hindered" the health of the whole nation, and that thousands had died of it. Its warmest friends ventured only to plead, that before the final anathema pronounced against it, a little pause might be granted to the inhabitants of Virginia and the Somer Isles to find some other means of existence and trade. James's enmity did not prevent him from endeavouring to fill his coffers by the most enormous imposts laid upon tobacco, insomuch that the colonists were obliged for some time to send the whole into the ports of Holland; but this too was soon after prohibited. The government of New England, more consistently, passed a complete interdict against tobacco, the smoke of which they compared to that of the bottomless pit. Yet tobacco, like other proscribed objects, throve under persecution, and achieved a final triumph over all its enemies. Indeed, the enmity against it was in some respects beneficial to Virginia, as drawing forth the most strict prohibitions against "abusing and misem-

* Massaire, 210. Wives, 197.

ploying the soil of this fruitful kingdom" to the production of so odious an article. After all, as the import for an average of seven years did not reach a hundred and fifty thousand pounds, it could not have that mighty influence, either for good or evil, which was ascribed to it by the fears and passions of the age.*

Amid the various vicissitudes and disasters which befell the colony, one was dreadfully pre-eminent. Opechankanough, the successor of Powhatan, had adopted with ardour all the early enmity of that prince against the English. It was more and more imbittered, as he observed the manner in which these foreigners multiplied and spread themselves over the country. He formed one of those dreadful schemes, which are so frequent in the Indian annals, of exterminating the whole race at one blow. Such was the fidelity of his people, and so deep the power of savage dissimulation, that this dire scheme was matured and arranged during four years, without the slightest surmise reaching the ears of the English. Down to the last fatal moment every the most studied semblance of friendship and cordiality was maintained. The king sent a message "that the sky would sooner fall than the peace between them should be dissolved." Several English, who had wandered into the woods, and come completely under the power of the savages, were carefully and kindly guided back. On the fatal Friday morning the Indians came into the town in

* Chalmers, b. i. ch. 3, with Notes.

great numbers, with numerous presents, and many of them breakfasted in the English houses. Immediately after, they commenced a general and indiscriminate massacre, without distinction of sex or age. The weapons of the English themselves, or any instruments of destruction which lay nearest at hand, were used against them. Many of the murderers had received from their victims particular kindness and marks of favour. In an hour, and almost in a minute, there fell three hundred and forty-seven, most of them without knowing how or by what weapon. Only one disclosure was made by Chumo, an Indian convert, living with a Mr Pace, who treated him as his own son. One of his companions, the night before, acquainted him with the design, and urged him to kill his master, as he himself intended to kill his. Instead of following this horrid advice, Chumo discovered it to Pace, and Pace immediately to the commandant, who hastened to James's Town, and secured that settlement.*

As soon as the English had recovered from the first dismay occasioned by this catastrophe they drew closer to James's Town. Thence they presently began against the Indians a most furious and exterminating warfare. They even copied the evil example which they had so deeply reprobated; and, having allured a number of Indians within their precincts, perpetrated against them a massacre as dreadful as that under which they themselves had suffered. The con-

* Purchas, v. 1788.

sequence was fatal to the slender population supported in this rude state of society. The Indians disappeared from the face of Virginia, and left not in that country a relic of their name or nation.

The historians of Virginia, however, have left some records respecting this unfortunate race once inhabiting that territory, which are not unworthy of being gleaned. A rude agriculture, devolved solely on the women; hunting pursued with activity and skill, but rather as a pastime than as a toil; strong attachment of the members of the little communities to each other, but deadly enmity against all their neighbours, and this manifesting itself in furious wars, conducted rather by stratagem and ambuscade than by conflict in the open field,—these features belong to the Virginians in common with almost every form of savage life. There are others which are more distinctive. Although a rude independence has been supposed to be, and in many cases is, the peculiar boast of the savage, yet, when a yoke of opinion and authority has once been established over his mind, he yields a submission more entire and more blind than is rendered to the most absolute of eastern despots. Such a sway had the King of Virginia. "When he listeth," says Smith, "his will is a law, and must be obeyed; not only as a king, but as half a god, they esteem him. What he commandeth, they dare not disobey in the least thing. It is strange to see with what great fear and adoration all this people do adore this Powhatan; at the least frown of his brow their greatest spirits will tremble with fear." Powhatan had under him a number of chiefs, who ruled as supreme within their own circle; and

they were so numerous, and covered so large an extent of territory, that Powhatan is often dignified by Europeans with the title of emperor.

The priests and conjurors formed a separate order, and enjoyed that high influence which marks a certain advance in the social state. The priests arrayed themselves in long robes like petticoats, consisting of skins, with the hair outwards, hanging down in a shaggy and frightful manner, and of which they studiously heightened the deformity, in order to frighten the people into veneration. They shaved the whole hair, except a narrow tuft or ridge, extending from the centre of the brow to the back of the neck. Their utmost art was employed to paint their bodies in the most singular and hideous manner. They possessed, however, some knowledge of nature, and of the history and traditions of their country, superior, at least, to that of their ruder countrymen. Their temples were numerous, formed on a similar though inferior plan to those of Florida, and each served by one or more priests. They had a mode of preserving the bodies of their great men after death similar to that practised in Florida. They opened the skin, took out the whole interior, and separated the bones from the flesh. The bones being then dried, were replaced within the skin, which had been preserved entire, and the intestines being filled with white sand, the body looked as if entire, and was preserved on a shelf, under the continual guard of one of the priests.

Beverley was the man who made the most close inquiry into the Virginian mythology. He did not meet with all the success he wished, finding them ex-

cessively mysterious on the subject. Having got hold, however, of an intelligent Indian, and plied him heartily with strong cider, he at last got him to open his heart in some degree. As he declared his belief in a wise, perfect, and supremely beneficent being, who dwelt in the heavens, Beverley asked him, how, then, he could confine his worship to the devil, a wicked, ugly, earthly being? The Indian said, that they were secure as to the good being, who would shower down his benefits without asking any return; but that the evil spirit was perpetually busy and meddling, and would spoil all, if constant court was not paid to him. Beverley, however, pressed upon him, how he could think that an insensible log, "a helpless thing, equipt with a bundle of clouts," could ever be a proper object of worship? The visage of the Indian now assumed a very marked and embarrassed expression. After a long pause, he began to utter, in broken sentences, "It is the priests;"—then, after another pause, "It is the priests;"—but, "a qualm crossed his conscience," and he would say no more.

Beverley had been so well-informed upon this last point, in consequence of a favourable incident of which he had availed himself. While the whole town were assembled to deliberate on some great state [redacted] was ranging the woods, and stumbled upon their quiocosan, or great temple. He resolved not to lose so favourable an occasion. After removing about fourteen logs, with which the door was barricadoed, he entered the mansion, which appeared at first to consist only of a large, empty, dark apartment, with a fire-place in the middle, and set round with posts,

crowned with carved and painted heads. On closer observation, he at length discovered a recess, with mats hung before it, and involved in the deepest darkness. With some hesitation he ventured into this wonderous sanctuary, where he found the materials, which, on being put together, made up Okee, Kiwasee, or Quioccos, the mighty Indian idol. The main body consisted of a large plank, to whose edges were nailed half-hoops, to represent the breast and belly. Long rolls of blue and red cotton cloth, variously twisted, made arms and legs, the latter of which were represented in a bent position. The reputation of the god was chiefly supported by the very dim religious light under which he was viewed, and which enabled also the conjuror to get behind him, and move his person in such a manner as might be favourable to the extension of his influence; while the priest in front, by the most awful menaces, deterred any from approaching so near, as might lead to any revelation of the interior mysteries.*

Smith alleges against the Virginians, that they made a yearly sacrifice of a certain number of children; but it appears clear, from the statements of Beverley, that he misunderstood in this sense the practice of *huskenawing*, a species of severe probation through which those were required to pass who aspired either to be chiefs or priests. On this occasion, after various preparatory ceremonies, the children are led naked through two lines of men, all armed with bastinadoes,

* Beverley, 166-70-1.

which are employed with great rigour, against the victims, who, after running through this gauntlet, are more dead than alive, and are covered with boughs and leaves of trees. If any expire under this trial, it is esteemed that the Okee has fixed his heart upon him, and carried him off. The rest are conveyed into the depth of a wood, and shut up in a species of cage or pen, where they are plied with intoxicating drugs, till they are said to become for several weeks absolutely deranged. By this process they are supposed completely to lose all memory of what they have seen and known in their former life, and to begin a new and brighter era. They must not, on their return home, recognize their nearest friends and comrades, the most common objects, nor even know a word of their own language; all must be to be learned afresh. If any indications of memory escape, the youth must pass afresh through the dreadful ordeal. Above all, he must be careful not to have retained the slightest recollection of any property he may have possessed, and which the neighbours usually judge this a favourable opportunity to appropriate.*

The Indians had not the least tincture of science, nor, of course, used any form of writing. They made, however, paintings of animals and other natural objects, by the form and relative position of which information was transmitted; but it is to be regretted, that none of these Virginian paintings have been preserved to be compared with those of the Mexicans.

* Smith, *ap.* Pinkerton, xiii. 41. Beverley, 178.

The only diseases, independent of wounds and hurts, to which their natural and active mode of life was liable, were those arising from sudden vicissitudes of heat and cold, for which their sole cure was sweating. Every village had its sweating-house, a large oven, or vapour-bath, filled with the steam raised by water poured over hot stones. After eight or ten persons had been thus stewed together, they ran out, and, after the Russian and Finnish fashion, plunged into the nearest brook of cold water; and this system, which, according to every English idea, ought to have killed them on the spot, was found refreshing in the extreme. In case of wounds, sucking and scarifying were the chief remedies.

CHAPTER V.

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND.

First Discovery by Gosnold.—Voyage of Challons.—Captain John Smith.—Unsuccessful Attempts.—Religious Persecution in England.—The Brownists.—Their Colony at New Plymouth.—Persecution of the Puritans.—Numerous Emigrations.—Settlement of Salem and Boston.—First Arrangements of the Colony.—Schism occasioned by Williams.—The Red Cross.—Rise of the Antinomian Sect.—Mrs Hutchinson.—Violent Ferment in the Colony.—Proceedings against the Antinomians.—The Anabaptists.—The Quakers.—Accounts of their Conduct.—Violent Proceedings against them.—Invasion of the Colonial Charter.—Andros Governor.—Revolution of 1688.—Alarm about Witchcraft.—Trials.—Singular Confessions.—Dreadful State of the Colony.—Close of the Proceedings.—The Native Indians.—Dreadful Wars with them.—Measures taken for their Conversion.

GOSNOLD, as we have already seen, in his prosperous voyage to Virginia, touched first upon a part of the coast of what has since been termed New England, and sailed thence southward to the Chesapeake. In this course he discovered that the continent, which was still called Virginia, took a much wider range

than the English government had yet been aware of. It appeared now too great to be the object of one grant, or the adventure of one company. While Southern Virginia, therefore, was assigned to a London association, the northern part was bestowed upon the Plymouth Company, formed by merchants of Bristol, and of other towns in the West of England. Although that part of the kingdom could not boast the wealth and extensive resources which have so long centered in the British metropolis, there were not wanting capital and enterprise sufficient to fit out expeditions on a considerable scale.

The first colony was sent by Sir John Popham, chief justice, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, governor of Plymouth, and "diverse other worshipful knights and merchants of the west." These great personages, however, produced nothing but a little bark of 55 tons, on board of which they put twenty-nine Englishmen, and two savages who had been brought from that quarter. Challons, it does not appear why, took the old route by the Canaries and the West Indies. While near the coast of Hispaniola they were overtaken by thick and tempestuous fogs, on the clearing up of which they found themselves in the midst of a fleet of eight Spanish vessels. The Spaniards immediately fired and called on them to stop; they rushed on board with drawn swords. "We in peace stood ready to entertain them in peace," but they instantly began beating the whole crew, and wounding several, among whom was one of the poor Indians, who vainly cried out, "It is King James's ship, it is King James's ship!" The vessel

was immediately taken possession of, and the crew divided among the different ships, which separated in various directions. The captain and pilot were brought to Seville and thrown into prison; but they gained access to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who took a great interest in their case, and strongly condemned the conduct of his countrymen. While in prison, however, Robert Cooke, one of their number, died, when his body was dragged naked by the heels through the prison, with cries of "See the Lutheran!" and, after suffering other indignities, it was carried off they never knew whither. Soon after, Nathaniel Humfries, the boatswain, was stabbed with a knife by a Spaniard. The English carried the latter to the president for justice, demanding, "that he having slain an honest and worthy man, should die for it." The president said, they might get him sent a year or two to the galleys; "but the King of Spain will not give the life of the worst slave that he hath for the best subject the King of England hath." They applied, however, to an ecclesiastical judge, who put them on a method, by which, after spending two hundred rials on lawyers and scribes, "at length we had him hanged." They effected their return to England with considerable difficulty.*

The issue of this voyage cast a gloom on the spirit of adventure; yet, as it did not really decide any thing as to the merits of the undertaking, the adventurers soon resumed their courage. Captain

* Purchas, iv. 1832-6.

Popham, son to the chief justice, and Captain Gilbert, brother to Sir John Gilbert, set sail on a new adventure, with a hundred men, copiously supplied with every necessary. They settled on the river Sagahadock, and built a fort, which they called St George. The first apprenticeship of a colony, however, is always hard, and they suffered additionally through the winter by part of their stores being accidentally burnt. Next summer a vessel arrived with additional supplies, but brought tidings of the death of their great patron, the chief justice, and also of the brother of Captain Gilbert, who then determined immediately to go home and take possession of his estate. The whole colony, discouraged and sick of the enterprise, set sail together.

The next adventurer in New England settlement was Captain John Smith, who acted so conspicuous a part in Virginia, and whom Purchas describes "as a man which hath many irons in the fire." He went about the principal seaports in the west of England, visiting all the gentlemen who were likely to favour the scheme; and complains that this negotiation cost him more toil and torment than any that he endured on the coasts of the new world. The merchants of London were best able to furnish the funds, but the western sailors were the best fishers; and the voyage from London to Plymouth was almost as hard as from Plymouth to New England. At length he effected the equipment of two vessels, whose destination was threefold; first, the whale-fishery; next, a mine of gold; and, in default of both, fish and fins, "to make themselves savers." All the three failed.

The whale-fishery proved a "costly conclusion," since, though they saw and chased a great number, they could not kill any; the gold was found a mere device of the projector; and when they came to save themselves with the fish and fins, they found that they had lost the prime season of both, and returned to England with only a sorry cargo. Smith had surveyed, however, and made a map of the coast, which he presented to Charles I. who took always a great interest in maritime affairs, and who amused himself with changing the uncouth Indian names into others derived from English places and persons.* Notwithstanding this sunshine of royal favour, Smith had difficulty next year in equipping a small bark, with sixteen colonists, whom he would have wished to be several thousands, and who seemed indeed very inadequate to provide for their own security on this barbarous shore; but he trusted in the friendship of Dohoday, "one of the greatest lords of the savages." However, this vessel was captured by the French, and Smith with difficulty effected his return to England. His ardent and persevering temper led him still to dwell on the scheme, and in his general history of New England he copiously laid forth all its advantages. The shore, he admits, is in many places "rocky and affrightable;" but, in penetrating into the interior, it greatly improved, and might yield plentifully, though not quite to the same perfection as in Virginia, the best grains, fruits, and

* Smith, *ap.* Pink. xiii. 208.

vegetables. It might produce all the commodities of northern Europe, pitch, tar, masts, iron; and he even names, though with some hesitation, the wine, oil, and silk of the south.* Still it is admitted, the grand staple must be fish, "reputed by some a base and mean commodity; yet the poor Hollanders, by fishing in all weathers, and selling this mean commodity for as mean, being wood, flax, pitch, &c. have become mighty, strong, and rich." He denies it to be his wish to persuade children from their parents, husbands from their wives, or servants from their masters; but young married people, who had small wealth, might there live exceedingly well.

Meantime the first voyage of Smith had been followed up by a most untoward issue. One Hunt, who had been left in charge of one of the ships, inveigled thirty of the natives on board, and sold them at Malaga for rials of eight. The consequence was, that Captain Hobson, who came after him, without knowing any thing of this affair, was suddenly set upon, several of his crew killed, and himself wounded. The company, much grieved at this mishap, sent Captain Dormer, a prudent and conciliatory person, with one of the betrayed natives, to protest that the former outrage was merely the individual crime of Hunt, with which the nation had no concern. Dormer executed his commission faithfully and successfully, and in the course of the next two years made several voyages, to the great

* Smith, *ap.* Pink. p. 215.

satisfaction of his employers; but being attacked by a new body of savages, he received fourteen wounds, and died in Virginia.*

Amid all these discouraging events, the company continued to make such liberal grants of land, that successive adventurers endeavoured, even at considerable cost, to found settlements upon them. A number of great families, who had relations that were burdensome to them, sent them to shift for themselves in a foreign land; but the bread thus thrown upon the waters was scarcely ever found. These large and loose grants bred another dreadful inconvenience, as due care was not taken to keep them clear of each other, and sometimes the same spot was bestowed on two or three different persons. Hubbard calculates, that the disputed points hence arising would have afforded employment to more lawyers than there were inhabitants in the colony. As there were neither funds nor lawyers, the costs came to be levied on the person instead of the purse. This was marked in the very names of places on the coast, called Bloody Point, Black and Blue Point, and others, bearing allusion to the uncourteous methods by which these controversies were settled.

From these causes, it happened that England, a hundred and twenty years after her discovery of northern America, had on its shores only a few scattered huts, erected for the convenience of those who came to their summer fishing on the coast. But

* Purchas, iv. 1830.

the time was come, when events, unforeseen and undesigned by their authors, were to produce a mighty tide of emigration, which rendered this the most flourishing and prosperous of all the colonies in the new world.

The Protestant reformation in England had never been accompanied by any acknowledgment of those rights of toleration and of individual judgment upon which it appeared to be founded. However congenial to the wishes of the people, it was introduced not by them, but by the most absolute of their monarchs, consulting only his own judgment, or rather passion and caprice; and he exacted from his subjects the same implicit spiritual submission which they had formerly rendered to the head of the Catholic church. Queen Elizabeth adopted the same principle; and both, with the inclination natural to princes, favoured that high power of the hierarchy, and that pomp of ceremony, which made the church diverge as little as might be from the Romish standard. But the body of the nation, disgusted with the superstitious character of that ritual, shocked by the persecutions of Mary, and the crimes committed on the continent in its support, were inclined to go eagerly into every extreme that was most opposite to that bigoted system. The connexions formed with Geneva, with the German churches, and with Scotland, inspired a strong attachment to the Calvinistic doctrines and discipline, as well as the strict and simple manners which were usually combined with it. To these Elizabeth was irreconcileably adverse, and claimed the ill-founded right of putting them

down by main force. When policy, or the love of popularity, inclined her to relax, Archbishop Whitgift fell on his knees, and implored her not to sacrifice her authority, or suffer the unity of the church to be broken. Lord Treasurer Burleigh felt differently, and sharply remonstrated with Whitgift on the discontents to which he unnecessarily gave rise. On seeing twenty-four questions which the archbishop had drawn up, on which to examine the unhappy Puritans, Cecil declared, "he thought the Inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their preys," and afterwards told him, he would not call his proceedings rigorous or captious, but "he had cause to pity the poor men that fell into his hands." The lords of the privy-council seconded the application, but the archbishop begged them to leave the matter in his hands, as his only apprehension was the being found too lenient. However, the spirit continuing to grow under the severities exercised against it, more and more violent measures were adopted, till at last a most iniquitous statute was passed, by which secession from the church was punished with banishment, and with death in case of refusal or return.

It is somewhat remarkable, that, notwithstanding this violent collision with the great body of the nation, Elizabeth never forfeited their favour. Her popular deportment, and her being viewed as the bulwark of the Protestant cause made them still rally round her. They were also yet strongly attached to the national religion, and most anxious to adhere to it, if they could do so with any safety to their con-

science. At length these continued severities drove some to extremity. The Brownists, or followers of Brown, denied altogether the right of the church of England to be considered as a church, and her ministers as lawfully ordained. They formed the first example of an independent system, in which each congregation made a church by itself, and the whole power was vested in the brethren, or lay members. The archbishop poured all the vials of his wrath on this unhappy sect. Brown could boast that he had been shut up in thirty-two prisons, and several of his followers suffered death. These violences drove a number of the more decided votaries of the party to take refuge in Holland, where they long formed a separate church under their pastor, Mr Robinson, who seems to have been a respectable and intelligent man, and by no means very illiberal. Dissatisfied, however, with their situation and prospects in this foreign land, they cast their eyes upon New England as a place where, amid the present difficulty of finding settlers, they might be allowed an asylum. They sent over agents to the Plymouth Company, and stated themselves to be "weaned from the delicate milk of their native country, knit together in a strict and sacred band, whom small things could not discourage, nor small discontents cause to wish themselves home again." After some negotiation they obtained their object; and though James told them that there could be no formal stipulation as to the free exercise of their religion, yet, if they demeaned themselves quietly, no inquiry would be made. They set sail on the 12th July, 1619, in two

vessels, having on board one hundred and twenty persons, with goods and provisions which had cost £2400. After a rough voyage, and being obliged to send back one of the vessels, they arrived, on the 9th November, off Cape Cod. The lateness of the season, and the ignorance or evil design of the pilot, baffled their attempts to reach a more favourable station, and they were obliged to fix their settlement on a spot in Cape Cod Bay, which they called New Plymouth. They suffered most severely during the first four or five months from the inclemency of an American winter, the want of necessaries, and various diseases; so that in spring there was not above fifty remaining. Even after they had seriously begun to improve the settlement, their progress was retarded by the community of goods, which, by an injudicious imitation of the primitive Christians, they made the basis of their system. This rendered labour exceedingly slack, and produced even the necessity for whipping in order to stimulate to its exercise. In religious matters their partiality for "the preaching of the gifted brethren" prevented the formation of any learned or regular ministry. However, these faults were gradually corrected; in the course of ten years they had increased to three hundred, and become a flourishing little colony.*

* Neale's History of New England, i. 81-96. Mather's Ecclesiastical History of New England, book i. ch. 2 and 3. Hutchison's History of Massachussetts, p. 45. Chalmers's Annals, p. 85-99.

The colonization of New England had not yet taken place on any scale commensurate with the wishes of the government, or which could ever make it a flourishing or important colony. James, however, being anxious to promote this object, formed a new society, under the title of the Grand Council of Plymouth, at the head of which he placed the Duke of Lennox, the Marquis of Buckingham, and other persons of distinction. But neither this pompous title, nor the rank of the members, did much for New England till Charles succeeded, and entered into arrangements with Laud, which secured an ample body of recruits. The laws against religious dissent, however rigorous, had yet been executed in their utmost severity only in a few prominent cases, and had not prevented a tolerable freedom of private worship. But Laud introduced a number of new ceremonies, which nearly assimilated the form of worship to the pompous ritual of Rome, and an inquisitorial system of the utmost violence against those who refused to conform. It extended even to those who showed any peculiar degree of that zeal and strictness which was held to savour of the Calvinistic system. To omit reading the book of sports which might be played on the Sabbath,—to preach on a week-day or Sunday afternoon,—to rebuke any of the congregation for drunkenness or other open sin, made a sufficient ground for the ejection of the most respectable ministers. They were also strictly prohibited from any private ministration; so that the great body of the nation were absolutely excluded from any worship which they could consider as scriptural or edifying. The reluc-

tance so deeply felt to quit their native country, and cross the ocean to the shore of the great western wilderness, was thus overcome. An association, composed of several gentlemen of rank and property, with a number of substantial farmers and tradesmen, and accompanied by several eminent ministers, applied for a grant of land in the new world. In their proposals they intimate other motives as at least of secondary influence. "The land," they say, "grows weary of her inhabitants, insomuch that man, which is the most precious of all creatures, is here more vile and base than the earth he treads upon;" that "no mean estate almost will suffice a man to keep sail with his equals, and it is almost impossible for a good upright man to maintain his constant charge."*

The council and the court united in forwarding the design. The adventurers received a grant of land extending from the Charles to the Merrimak river, and across from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea,—a dimension of the extent of which the donors were little aware. Robertson is astonished at Neale asserting that freedom of religious worship was granted, when the charter expressly asserts the king's supremacy. But this, in fact, was never the article on which they demurred,† for the spirit of loyalty was then very strong. It seems quite clear, from the confidence with which they went, and the manner in which they acted when there, that, though there was no formal or written stipulation, the most full under-

* Mather, book i. 17. † See Neale, p. 56.

standing existed, that very ample latitude was to be allowed in this respect. We have seen on every occasion the vast sacrifices which kings were willing to make, in order to people their distant possessions; and the necessity was increased by the great backwardness hitherto visible. It was probably also calculated, that a few of the most discontented spirits being thus ejected and allowed "illa se jactare in aula," the nation in general might fall into a more contented and submissive state.

The expedition consisted of six vessels, on board of which were 350 passengers and 115 head of cattle. The sailors were surprised and edified by the new scene which their ships presented; prayer and exposition of the word two or three times a-day,—the Sabbath spent in preaching and catechizing,—repeated and solemn fasts for the success of the voyage.* They arrived in the end of June, 1629, and selected a settlement, to which they gave the name of Salem.

The colony suffered much during the first winter, and even lost a considerable part of its numbers. Yet the spirit of emigration continued as strong as ever. In the following year a new expedition was planned, led by persons of still higher distinction. Among those were Winthrop and Dudley, the future governors of the colony. They succeeded without difficulty in purchasing and carrying out with them the patent of the grand Plymouth company, who had found it a very unprofitable concern. Mr Chalmers admits,

* Mather, i. 7.

that every chartered body may buy and sell, but questions if they have a right to sell themselves; however, no party concerned made any objection.* The fleet consisted of ten sail, one of which was of 350 tons, and from Lady Arabella Johnson, who sailed in her, was called the Arabella. The passengers were estimated at 1500, among whom were a number of eminent nonconformist ministers. The most highly-esteemed was Mr Wilson, who had been the son of a dignitary of the church, and, by his connexions and talents, might have aspired to its highest honours, but chose to renounce all, in order to suffer with those whom he accounted the people of God. His wife, a lady of rank, was very reluctant to leave England, but was at length persuaded to accompany her husband.†

But the circumstance which threw a greater lustre on the colony than any other, was the arrival of Mr John Cotton, the most esteemed of all the Puritan ministers in England. He had distinguished himself at the university by his learning, and by a brilliant and figurative eloquence; but, on becoming impressed with more serious views of religion, he adopted, in preference, a plain and earnest address, which threw him out of the circle of his former admirers. Being settled, however, at Boston, in Lincolnshire, he obtained the unbounded esteem of his congregation by his learning, his persuasive preaching, and especially the mildness of his demeanour. Several of his meek re-

* Annals, 151. † Mather, book i. ch. 4. b. iii. ch. 3.

plies are on particular record. A dissolute young fellow, having undertaken to amuse his companions at the parson's expense, went up to him, and said, "You are an old fool;" to which he answered, "I confess I am so. The Lord make both thee and me wiser than we are, even wise unto salvation." A rude fellow having followed him from church, calling out, that "his ministry was become dark and flat," he said, "Both, brother, it may be both. Let me have your prayers that it may be otherwise." He was so generally beloved, that his sins against the liturgy were for some time covered. At length Laud was informed, that some of the little forms on which he set so much importance were omitted in the church-service at Boston, and Mr Cotton was called before the ecclesiastical commission. The Earls of Dorset and Lindsay, while residing in the neighbourhood, had attended his ministry with so much gratification, that they assured him, if ever he wanted a friend at court, he might depend upon them. He had never used this promise with any view to promotion; but he now entreated them to save him from ruin. Lord Dorset wrote in reply, that he was as anxious as ever to serve him, and had it been a case of drunkenness, fornication, or any such common offence, he would easily have secured him against any annoyance; but since it was the omission of any part of Laud's liturgy, all he could do for him was to advise him instantly to fly the country. Mr Cotton, therefore, left Boston in disguise, and spent some time in London, seeking a proper opportunity to emigrate. Here "some reverend and renowned ministers of our Lord" craved a con-

ference, and endeavoured to persuade him that the grounds on which he left the church were "sufferable trifles," and did not actually amount to a breach of the second commandment. Mr Cotton, however, argued so forcibly on the opposite side, that several of the most eminent, among whom were Dr Goodwin and Mr Davenport, "became all that he was," and afterwards followed his example. There went out with him Mr Hooker and Mr Stone, who were esteemed to make "a glorious triumvirate," and were received in New England with the utmost exultation. Mr Cotton was appointed to preach at Boston, now the principal town, and was mainly employed in drawing up the ecclesiastical constitution of the colony.*

The accounts now constantly transmitted to England of the progress of the settlement, and the many famous ministers who were freely dispensing the bread of life, while those at home were starving, produced a powerful influence. The numerous expatriated clergy had left in England flocks, who, destitute of any pastors in whom they could place confidence, resolved to follow them to the uttermost ends of the earth. A general impulse was felt among the most respectable of the commercial and industrious classes. Every port was crowded with vessels proceeding to the western continent; England seemed to be moving in one mass across the Atlantic. Neale does not doubt, that in a few years one-fourth of the substance of the kingdom would have been conveyed to America. The court

* Mather, book iii. ch. 1. Neale, i. 154-5.

took the alarm. Its anxious wish to find persons who would migrate to New England had been much more than fulfilled. The fear was now, that England would be stripped of her wealth and her people. This crowding also of the most respectable of the English people into a quarter which they had recently viewed with such aversion, exposed in an extraordinary degree the deep unpopularity of the present system. But Charles and his counsellors, instead of taking any warning from this ominous fact, were only impelled by it into a fresh act of violence. A proclamation was issued "to restrain the disorderly transporting of his majesty's subjects, because of the many idle and refractory humours, whose only or principal end is to live beyond the reach of authority." An order was next day issued "for the stay of eight ships now in the river of Thames, prepared to go for New England;" and the passengers were obliged to reland. Of all the fatal steps into which Charles was hurried, this was the one of which he had the bitterest reason to repent. Among these passengers were no less personages than John Hampden, Oliver Cromwell, and Sir Arthur Haslerigg, the men who were destined to subvert his throne and bring his head to the block. The Puritans now complained of the extraordinary hardship of their situation, neither allowed to live in the kingdom nor out of it; and their discontents fermented deeper and deeper, till the storm which Charles and Laud had been so busily brewing for themselves burst at length on their heads.

Notwithstanding every prohibition, emigrants in large numbers continued to find their way over the

Atlantic. It was not till the recovery of the national liberty, and the cessation of that "spiritual famine of God's word," of which Pym so bitterly complained, that, though full liberty was given of proceeding to New England, it was no longer prized, and from that time a greater number returned than went out. During the twelve years of continued migration, it is calculated that in 298 ships there sailed 21,200 persons; and it would not perhaps be extravagant to average the property carried out by each at £50, which would make somewhat more than a million sterling.* Iniquitous as the cause had been which drove them from their native country, it was yet overruled, to produce a great good to the world in general. England could spare them; and they formed an excellent basis for a new and hereafter great community. One of their governors said: "God sifted three kingdoms, that he might bring choice grain into this wilderness." In fact, though not, as will be seen, without their due share of human infirmity, they were men, beyond the usual average, sober, laborious, of high principle, and vigorous character. Deeply impressed with the importance of that religion for which they had made so great a sacrifice, they rendered it the centre of their whole social and political system. In doing so, they

* Mather and Neale reckon only 4000 passengers, and £192,000; but it would be easy to controvert this by their own data. I shall only observe, that Mather, in less than fifty years after, formed upwards of a hundred thousand, produced without any sensible recruit from abroad, out of his original four thousand.

do not seem to have always distinguished between the fundamental principles of the Gospel, and those local forms and habits to which the inspired writers wisely conformed, without intending to bind them on future ages. Discarding the common English proper names, they introduced the Hebrew ones,—Deborah, Rebecca, Abigail, Jeremiah, Habakkuk, and even the abstract spiritual terms of Patience, Experience, Mercy, Deliverance. The cutting the hair very close, which seemed supported by St Paul's authority, was the chief outward symbol of a Puritan. In the case of a minister, it was considered essential that the ear should be thoroughly uncovered. Vane, a young man of birth and fashion, continued for some time a recusant against this uncouth test of his principles; but at last we find a letter congratulating him on having "glorified God by cutting his hair." Even after the example of Dr Owen and other eminent divines had given a sanction to letting the hair grow, and even to periwigs, a numerous association was formed at Boston, with Mr Endicot the governor at their head, the members of which bound themselves to stand by each other in resisting long hair to the last extremity.*

The ministers, who formed so prominent a feature in this establishment, were naturally an object of peculiar veneration, and they have been accused of seeking to establish a power as absolute as that of the Romish hierarchy.† This was founded upon the law

* Hutchison's Massachussetts.

† Robertson, book x. p. 209. Chalmers, 153.

which confined the rights of citizenship, and admission to all public and legal functions, to those who were in full communion with the church. To attain this state, it was not enough that they should profess its doctrines, attend its ordinances, and be free from public scandal. It was necessary that the candidate for admission should lay open to the ministers and session the whole train of his spiritual experiences, whence it might be judged whether a work of grace had taken place in his soul, and he was in a state of acceptance. This judgment was perhaps only competent to a higher tribunal; but I do not find any actual charge of its having been exercised in a manner other than conscientious, or made a political engine. Indeed an innovation, whether salutary or otherwise, which was soon introduced, must have defeated any views of that nature. A great curiosity being felt respecting these spiritual disclosures, some of the most respectable of the congregation obtained permission to be present. This circle gradually widened, till at last the whole body, urging the edification which might be derived from these narratives, and the equal right which all had to the benefit, succeeded in obtaining a general admission. This change, however, was not generally relished by the candidates. That young persons should be required to lay open before a crowded congregation the most secret dealings of God with their souls, and the various temptations of Satan by which they had been assailed, was placing them at least in a very trying and difficult situation. The ministers, therefore, seem to have had good grounds for endeavouring to negotiate that the examination should take

place in private, and that the elders should then report to the congregation such particulars as might appear most interesting and edifying.* This, however, was effected reluctantly and very slowly.

But the deepest blot upon the church of New England consisted in its intolerance. The world had expected, with seeming reason, that men newly escaped from an unjust persecution, and who had fled to a distant corner of the world to worship God as they deemed most acceptable, would have made liberty of conscience the basis of their system. No such idea was ever contemplated. Every dissent from the established form of belief and worship was considered an offence which was to be remedied by the arm of the civil magistrate. Imprisonment, banishment, and, in some few instances, death itself, were awarded to the dissenter. Mr Dudley, one of the most respectable of the governors, was found, at his death, with a copy of verses in his pocket, which included the following couplet:

> Let men of God, in court and churches, watch
> O'er such as do a toleration hatch;

of which, we cannot but agree with Mr Chalmers, that the sentiment and the poetry are equally deserving of censure. Yet, that we may not be intolerant even against intolerance, it may be fair to mention some palliating circumstances. The zealous votaries of any religious system can with difficulty refrain

* See Mather, book xi.

from viewing with horror, as the enemies of God, those who oppose any part of that which is associated with all their own most venerated ideas. The Reformation in England had never been combined with any general doctrine of religious liberty. The sovereign, after setting aside the authority of the pope, had assumed and exercised the entire regulation of the church as well as the state. Yet it was impossible, when the movement was once made, to prevent the rise of new opinions, inspired by the love of novelty, the variety of individual views, and the propensity of mankind to divide into sects. The new and unwonted exercise of the liberty of thought, employed by learned and unlearned, upon subjects the most abstruse and mysterious, generated opinions often of a very wild and singular aspect. Several of the sects, which now maintain the most sober and respectable character, were, in their outset, extravagant and enthusiastic in the extreme. To the ministers of New England, sober, learned, and diligent men, it was a severe trial to see the multitude successively carried away by those various winds of doctrine. They could not be justified, however, in the remedy which they applied; and which had this additional evil, that the tenets of each successive sect which rose into popularity, being made a state affair, not only shook the church, but threatened the very existence of the colony.

Of the dire series of schisms which rent Massachussetts, the first was that raised at Salem by Roger Williams. He held it unlawful to join in any religious service with those of whose regenerate state he

entertained any doubts. He could not, therefore, attend church, but ministered at his own house to a chosen body of the elect. Not being fully satisfied as to the spiritual state of his wife, he would even not say grace at his own table. These singular and dissocial views were redeemed by much genuine worth and sincerity, and by some very valuable tenets, which unfortunately appeared strange in the eyes of his fellow-citizens. He maintained, that the magistrate had no concern with the duties of the first table, and that no man ought to be punished for worshipping according to his conscience. He started a very conscientious, but very inconvenient question, what right the King of England had to bestow on his subjects the lands of the Indians; which, even to the most devout planters, appeared a pestilent heresy. His most unlucky antipathy was that to the red cross in the banner, against which he inveighed with such vehemence, that one of his disciples who held some command cut the cross out, and trampled it under foot. This red cross had nearly subverted the colony. One part of the trained bands would not march with, another would not march without it. A series of violent pamphlets were written on both sides, till at length a compromise was effected. It was agreed, that the cross should be retained on the castles and forts, but omitted in the colours of the trained bands. The distinction does not seem founded on any very rational principle; but any arrangement might be considered good, which put an end to so furious and futile a controversy. At length the magistrates resolved to banish Williams as a disturber of the order

of church and state. Mr Cotton, always studious of peace, obtained permission to deal with him privately, and endeavour to bring him round by gentle means; but, as he remained inflexible, the sentence was put in execution. The town, however, was in an uproar, and the greater part of the inhabitants were with difficulty prevented from following him. He retired to Providence, in Rhode Island, where a little colony collected round him, and he spent the rest of his life with general esteem, as a worthy and Christian minister.*

Mr Williams being thus removed, the memory of himself and his doctrines gradually died away; and the ministers hoped that they were to be left to the tranquil discharge of their duties, and the enjoyment of the respect and influence with which these had originally been attended. Suddenly, however, a much more terrible storm burst upon them, from a very unexpected quarter.

The female part of the society of Boston had for some time shown a profound conviction, that they were qualified to treat the most abstruse mysteries of theology with the same depth and success as the most learned of the other sex. An opportunity of displaying their powers seemed afforded by an assembly of devout citizens, held with the view of recapitulating, and sometimes commenting upon the sermons which they had weekly heard. The observations, however, hazarded on these occasions by the female divines were by no means well received; and measures were even

* Mather, vii. ch. 2. Neale, i. 158-61. Hutchinson, 37-9.

taken for inducing them to return to a state of silence; and as this was found more desirable than practicable, the severe expedient was adopted of ejecting them altogether, and of admitting men only to these devout conferences.

The ladies could not fail to consider this as a somewhat severe proceeding, and they at least conceived that they had a full right to form an assemblage among themselves for a similar purpose. Mrs Hutchinson, a Lincolnshire lady of good birth, and of a vigorous and determined character, collected at her house, on the Sabbath evenings, a numerous party of her own sex, who might there exercise, at full liberty, those powers of speech which had been elsewhere so severely checked. The discussions were accordingly opened, and carried on with the utmost fluency; nor was it long before they ascertained, not only that they were qualified to treat of these arduous and important subjects, but they were alone qualified, and that the ministers and male members of the colony were involved in the thickest darkness. It was found that the religious system of New England must undergo a radical change, otherwise that country could never hope to attain the favour of God.

The system which Mrs Hutchinson so zealously inculcated in her disciples, and which was destined to convulse both church and state, was that called by divines Antinomian; according to which, salvation depended upon faith, or rather upon grace and election alone, and in no degree upon good works, or a good life. This system, in some shape and degree, has very generally prevailed among the more zealous

of the Protestant sects. The strange and pernicious doctrines of the Catholics, respecting the merit of works, which were made even an object of transfer and sale, and became the foundation of the system of indulgences, led both Luther and Calvin to make a decided stand against allowing good works of themselves to establish any right to salvation. When any opinion becomes characteristic of a sect, the zealots of that sect seek to distinguish themselves by pushing it always farther and farther. After passing through various stages, it was maintained by some German divine, that good works were an impediment to salvation; but luckily this tenet never spread very wide.* The ministers of the colony were on this subject decidedly Calvinistic, and nearly what is now termed evangelical. They held, that to ascribe any merit to human works, or found on them any claim to salvation, was an erroneous and even fatal opinion. But they earnestly pressed the reformation of heart and conduct, as the only sure test of being in a sound spiritual state, and solemnly called upon their auditors to examine strictly if they possessed this evidence of their eternal safety. The school to which our female divines had attached themselves took a much loftier flight. According to them, a certain sensible impression made by the Spirit upon the mind conveyed to it a triumphant assurance of present favour and future salvation, without there being room for the slightest reference to so trivial a

* See Mosheim.

consideration as that of their own temper and conduct. Not only was such reference unnecessary, but he who was so far misled, as in any shape to make it, placed himself thereby under a covenant of works, and exposed himself to that awful doom which awaits those who place their trust on so broken a reed.

It has been a standing charge against the votaries of this class of opinions, that they have contrived them with the view of releasing their conduct from the restraints of religion, and leaving them at full liberty to pursue their irregular propensities. Against this charge they have appealed with confidence to the whole tenor of their life and conversation. Not only can they produce examples of the purest virtue and philanthropy of which human nature is capable, but the general tone of manners has been strict and austere, marked by abstinence from pleasures and pursuits which are freely indulged in by other circles esteemed respectable. Their enemies may attack their theory as tending to licentiousness; but the charge against their practice is, on the contrary, that they lead a gloomy and monotonous life, denying to themselves and censuring in others even innocent pleasures. These remarks, which may be verified by daily observation of the more sober and rational forms of this creed, do not fail, even in regard to the high Antinomian pitch to which the ladies of Boston had risen. Our information comes almost solely from the report of their most imbittered enemies, who assuredly would not have passed over any thing in their deportment that might have been found amiss. There is even a disposition to grasp at the wildest

and most improbable rumours tending to their prejudice. Thus considerable acceptation is given to the story of poor Mrs Hutchinson having produced thirty monsters at a birth; which, according to Mather, were of various forms and sizes, corresponding to the variety of her theological errors; though Neale candidly declines laying much stress upon this circumstance,* the evidence of which even appears to him not perfectly conclusive. But neither against her, nor against any of the female conclave whom she initiated into the covenant of grace, is there any specification of licentious or irregular conduct. On the contrary, it is given as one of the chief causes of their success, that "they appeared so wondrous holy, humble, self-denied, and spiritual."† They appeared such in a Puritan community, where these were the prevailing qualities. I do not even find it proved that the elect ladies exercised their tongues with such extreme violence, as Mr Graham seems to suppose, against all whom they considered as under a covenant of works. There seems to have been little courtesy on either side; and, doubtless, in this high theological career, they might drop somewhat of the softness of their sex. Every dogma, however

* Neale, i. 194. Mather, vii. p. 19-20. It is certainly impossible to refuse our assent to Gorton's conclusion in his "Glass for the People of New England," that this was "a notorious lie." He says, "They banished this tenderly-bred woman in or towards winter, and what with fears and tossings to and fro she miscarried, upon which they founded their abominable untruth."—*Hutchinson*, 72-3. † Mather, vii. p. 14.

fantastic, or however trivial, must assume a fearful importance to those who have brought themselves to believe that all the destinies of man are suspended upon it. The ladies are accused of defaming the ministers; but we do not find that they defamed any thing except their doctrine; and when they believed that doctrine to be not only false, but fatal, it might become a matter of the strictest conscience to lay open all its deformity.*

The ministers were not long of being advised, that, instead of the respectful and docile attachment with which they had hitherto been viewed, they were denounced in the female coterie as the blind leaders of the blind; but they hoped for some time that this would be only a partial and temporary effervescence. Those, however, who were best acquainted with human nature easily foresaw that opinions adopted with such zeal by this class of the community would not long be confined to them. "A poison," says Mather, "does never insinuate so quickly, nor operate so strongly, as when woman's milk is the vehicle." The wives assured their husbands, and the young ladies their suitors, that those who taught them had never been taught of God; that they could never be saved under the instructions to which they at present listened; and that it was only by imbibing their own "fine-spun speculations," that they could attain to a sound spiritual state.† These

* Neale, 182-3. Mather, b. vii. ch. 3. Hutchinson, 55-7.

† Mather, vii. 14-15.

doctrines made a most rapid progress; the whole colony was divided between the covenant of works and the covenant of grace; and though many, it is alleged, never to their dying day could understand the difference, they were, as usual, only the more zealous on that account. The clergy soon felt that the great body of the people had embraced the new opinions, and were alienated from themselves. Many who had crossed three thousand miles of ocean, and braved death itself, in order to sit under their favourite minister, would not now listen to a word that he uttered.* The churches were generally thinned, and some almost deserted; while that of Mr Wheelwright, who had mounted the pulpit under the auspices of the female school of theology, could not contain the crowds with which it was thronged.

The ministers and their adherents were in a situation the more embarrassing from an error into which they had been betrayed. Vane, afterwards so noted under the name of Sir Harry Vane, had come out to the colony, and, though a very young man, his rank and the gravity of his demeanour had induced them to elect him governor. His enthusiastic spirit made him embrace with ardour the new tenets, and use all his influence in their support. It is even stated, that he delayed, on a most urgent occasion, the march of the militia against the Indians, on account of the dark state in which their minds appeared to be respecting the covenant of grace. The magistrates,

* Mather, vii. p. 15.

who still adhered to the old system, could scarcely obtain submission, or escape insult, on account of their legal spirit. The elections, however, were approaching, and by them it was foreseen, that the fate of the two covenants would be ultimately decided. The Antinomians strained every nerve to obtain what they termed "Gospel magistrates;" while the main object of the other party was the ejection of Vane from the office of governor. In Boston, Mrs Hutchinson and her ladies were paramount; but the country districts adhered to their old ministers; and they formed a majority. It was only apprehended that if the deputies met in the capital, influence, clamour, and even more violent means, might induce them to vote with the reigning party; it was therefore overtured, that the election should take place at Newtown (now Cambridge,) and this proposition was carried in the council, notwithstanding the utmost opposition of Vane, who refused even to put the vote upon it. The elections, notwithstanding various attempts to defeat or delay them, were carried entirely in favour of the sober party. Vane was thrown out, and returned in disgust to England, where he was destined to act so conspicuous a part; and Mr Winthrop, whom Mather calls the American Nehemiah, was elected in his place. Discontent, however, was still strong at Boston; even the sergeants refused to carry the halberts before a governor whom they considered to be under a covenant of works.*

* Hutchinson, 61. Neale, i. 184-5.

The ministers, now backed by the civil power, determined to take decisive steps for the suppression of the Antinomian heresy. It seems fair to admit that they were willing to try, in the first instance, conciliatory and persuasive means. Mr Cotton, who enjoyed the highest reputation for learning and character of any minister in the colony, was the person especially pointed to by both parties. It was in his name, and in commenting upon his sermons, that Mrs Hutchinson had first broached her peculiar tenets; and his brother ministers now called upon him to say, whether and how far he was prepared to own them as his. Mr Cotton, a fervent lover of peace, seems to have been sorely affected to find the colony rent by such dire dissensions, and himself unwittingly placed in the centre of them; nor could he, perhaps, be insensible to the sacrifice of that profound and idolizing veneration with which female devotees regard their spiritual guides. However, he applied himself to the examination of the case, and, having heard the charges of one party and the admissions of the other, declared with tears in his eyes, that while he slept the devil had been sowing tares; that, though he might differ from the rest upon some intricate questions respecting the union with Christ, and the order of justification, the system by which sanctity of life was excluded from being any test of a sound spiritual state never could be his: he earnestly exhorted his pretended disciples to renounce such obnoxious opinions, and reconcile themselves to the church.

Had the ladies met with this check at an earlier

period of their theological career, it might, perhaps, have deterred them from taking quite so lofty a flight. But they had advanced too far and taken too decided an attitude to be now shaken. They exclaimed, that Mr Cotton, overawed by the number and clamour of his brethren, had swerved from the truth and his own private judgment; that he taught one thing in public and another in private; and that, at the very best, he had lost all that insight into Gospel mysteries for which he was once so eminent. One of the ladies, not very wittily, sent him a present of a pound of candles, to intimate his need of more spiritual light. The good man, much troubled by the scene of dissension in which he was involved, had formed the design of removing to Newhaven; but, at the earnest request of the governor and some of the principal inhabitants, he was persuaded to remain.*

The mediation of Mr Cotton having thus failed, the governor and ministers determined upon a measure of greater magnitude. A general synod of the ministers of the colony was summoned to meet at Cambridge. It was the first assembly of this nature in New England, where, without any actual profession of independence, or even any full separation from the English church, each congregation had hitherto acted almost as a separate body. The ministers drew up a list of eighty-two propositions, said to be maintained by the Antinomians, and upon which that assem-

* Neale, i. 184-5. Mather, iii. p. 22-3.

bly was to be called upon to pronounce. Preparation was made by a solemn fast, which, it was hoped, might bring men's minds into a calm and deliberate frame, fitted for the consideration of such important concerns. It had, however, as might perhaps have been foreseen, quite the opposite effect. Mr Cotton alone preached a "healing discourse;" all the others sought only to inflame farther the animosity of their respective partizans. Mr Wheelwright, above all, is reported to have preached a sermon of the most inflammatory tenor. He denounced the magistrates and ministers of the colony as generally under a covenant of works, and consequently in a state of perdition; and, in their present course of enmity to the truth, they could only be considered as a form of Antichrist. He compared the pending spiritual contest in the colony to that of Michael with the apostate angel, and of the pure and mystical church with the whore of Babylon.*

All hopes of an amicable accommodation being thus terminated, the synod assembled on the 30th August, 1637. The meeting was crowded and turbulent. It consisted not only of the ministers and the deputies from the different congregations, but of the magistrates, who deemed their presence necessary to preserve order, and held it competent also to give their opinion on the theological questions. The Antinomian partizans had also a particular place assigned to them, and were allowed the liberty of speech, which

* Mather, vii. 15. Neale, i. 186.

they are alleged to have used beyond all bounds of moderation. As many more of the people as the apartment would contain were admitted as auditors or spectators. The eighty-two propositions were then laid before the synod. They were stated merely in an abstract form, without any specification of the persons by whom they were held, leaving it to the congregation, or, if necessary, to the tribunals, to make the personal application. Many on the opposite side, however, complained, that this was a covert and unfair mode of proceeding. They called upon the ministers to specify who the persons were who had maintained these obnoxious tenets. Their whole demeanour is represented as clamorous in the extreme, insomuch that the civil magistrate was repeatedly obliged to exert his authority to impose silence. Apparently there was no excess of meekness on either side. The only speech of the opposite party on record is that of Mr Wilson, who, on some one asking what they were to make of the eighty-two propositions, cried out,—"Send them to the devil, from whom they came!" Three weeks were spent in this stormy discussion; and the eighty-two propositions, one after another, were painfully debated; when, at length, the whole underwent a decided and unanimous sentence of condemnation.*

After this great and public synodical triumph, the ministers fondly hoped that their cause was gained, and that the heretical party would no longer attempt

* Hutchinson, 67-9. Neale, i. 188-9.

to raise their heads. They were therefore not a little dismayed to find that all things, after the synod, went on exactly as before. Mrs Hutchinson's disciples resorted to her house in as great crowds, and listened to her doctrines with unabated veneration. Mr Wheelwright's chapel was still as thronged as ever; while Mr Wilson, formerly the most popular and beloved minister in the colony, no sooner entered a pulpit, than half the congregation rose and went out.*

The governor and ministers having thus exhausted in vain every legitimate means of influence, formed the unjust resolution of having recourse to the civil arm. Mr Wheelwright was the first who felt the weight of their indignation. He had already been cited before the council on account of his famous fast sermon; but, as the synod was approaching, proceedings were stayed till its effect should appear. He was now again summoned, called upon to acknowledge his offence, and come under an engagement not to repeat it. He replied, that he had been guilty neither of sedition nor contempt; he had done nothing but declared the truth of Christ; and, if it went against them, the application was of their own making. Upon this answer he was allowed a fortnight to quit the colony. The next persons dealt with were those who, to the number of sixty, had, at the last proceedings against Wheelwright, signed a remonstrance, in which they declared, that his sermon appeared to them to be strictly according to Scripture, and to have no ten-

* Neale, i. 190.

dency to disturb the public peace, which, accordingly, it had not done. They warned, therefore, the court to take care "how they meddled with the prophets of God." Two ringleaders in this transaction were banished, two others were fined and disfranchised, several were deprived of the places which they held under government.

All these steps were only preliminary to the attack of Antinomianism in its main hold, in the person of Mrs Hutchinson. That lady was summoned before the court, and called upon to renounce and apologize for those heretical opinions which she had been the instrument of spreading so widely. Mrs Hutchinson replied in the most lofty terms. She considered herself in the situation of Daniel, against whom, when his wicked enemies could find no other matter of accusation, they sought it in the law of his God. She assured them that an express revelation had been vouchsafed to her, according to which she would be saved miraculously out of their hands, while destruction would fall upon themselves and their posterity, if they continued to persecute the saints. Neither her sex, nor her prophetic threats, nor her respectable place in society, moved the stern judges before whom she was placed. She was declared guilty of twenty-six out of the eighty-two errors condemned at the synod, and ordered to depart the colony within six months.

Some time now elapsed, and poor Mrs Hutchinson, when she saw all human aid fail, and that the celestial interposition, on which she had so fondly calculated, was not like to appear, felt her courage begin to sink. She gave in an explanatory

statement of her sentiments, from which even the ministers were obliged to own that the heretical taint was in a great measure expunged. Her pride, however, still deterred her from owning this as a recantation. She represented it only as a statement of the doctrines she had all along held. The ministers, we really think, might have accepted this virtual submission, provided her future behaviour had corresponded; but their minds were in too inflamed a state. Witnesses were called to prove that she had formerly promulgated doctrines altogether opposite. She was then pronounced to have added the sin of lying to that of heresy, and to be more than ever deserving of banishment. She removed to the newly-formed settlement in Rhode Island, where her husband, through her influence, was elected governor, and many of her adherents followed her; insomuch, that this persecution, like that of the mother country, had the effect of spreading wider the colonial system. We are sorry to conclude with stating, that having, after her husband's death, removed to a neighbouring Dutch plantation, she was surprised by the Indians, and murdered, with all her family. This tragical catastrophe variously affected men's minds,—some being willing to receive it as an additional judgment against heresy, while others represented it as involving the government in the guilt of actual murder.*

It was not without difficulty and peril that the go-

* Hutchinson, 69-75. Neale, i. 191-4.

vernor had effected the execution of this sentence. It was necessary to disarm a considerable portion of the citizens, and a great body of the Boston congregation presented an address to the elders, calling upon them to exclude the governor from church privileges on account of his persecution of the saints,—a measure which would have deprived him of his rights as a citizen, and consequently amounted to a sentence of deposition; but the elders declined to interfere.*

Although by these violent measures the Antinomian spirit was for the time put down, yet that unity which the ministers so vehemently laboured to effect was not thus secured. The love of novelty, and the pride of belonging to a select and chosen circle in the midst of a profane world, caused new sects continually to spring up. It was doubtless a pretty severe trial on the ministers, who appear really to have been, as they say, "faithful, watchful, and painful, serving their flocks daily with prayers and tears, with their most studied sermons and writings," who possessed such a reputation at home and over Europe, that the churches of New England were envied the possession of them,—to find, that no sooner did a half-learned, half-crazed enthusiast spring up or arrive in the colony, than the people could be prevented only by the most odious compulsion from deserting their churches and flocking to him in a mass. Mr Parker's homely remark, that "the people love to tap a new barrel," received daily illustration. Several even of common

* Mather, ii. p. 11.

profligates and rogues, when all other modes of swindling had failed, put on the character of ministers, and, repairing to Boston, enjoyed a day of popularity. But the Anabaptists were now the sect who attracted for some time almost alone the favour of the people and the enmity of the rulers.

The Anabaptists did not, like the Antinomians, profess any tenets which, even in a theoretical view, could have an immoral tendency; nor did they now profess or practise any of those extravagancies, which, under John of Munster and King Mathias, had rendered them odious in the eyes of mankind. Many of them are admitted by their greatest opponents to have been genuine and worthy Christians. Like other sectaries, they were too apt to consider their own peculiarities as forming the grand essentials of religion. "They unchurched," it is said, "all the faithful on earth, themselves alone excepted." When asked in court, whether there was a church in Boston? they professed that, in their apprehension, there was not. They assured those who had been baptized only as infants, that they had never been baptized at all; that they thus belonged in no shape to Christ's visible church, nor had any part or portion in him. They are also said to have encouraged shoemakers, tailors, and all sorts of unlearned persons to enter, without preparation, on the work of the ministry; so that a church wholly illiterate must have been the result of their prevalence. Obadiah Holmes was prosecuted on the charge, that the ladies, before being baptized by him, were made entirely to lay aside their clothes; but, after the strictest investigation, this averment could never be

made good. Indeed very extraordinary and unwarrantable means appear to have been resorted to in order to throw odium upon this sect. A pamphlet was circulated through London, under the sanction of Archbishop Parker, entitled, "A sad History of the unparalleled Cruelty of the Anabaptists of New England; faithfully relating the cruel, barbarous, and bloody Murther of Mr Josiah Baxter, an Orthodox Minister, who was killed by the Anabaptists, and his Skin most cruelly flea'd off from his Body. Published by his mournful Brother, Benjamin Baxter, living in Fenchurch Street, London." After this work had circulated for some weeks, the Anabaptists investigated the matter, and found that there never was a Josiah Baxter nor a Benjamin Baxter in existence, and that the whole was a pure and absolute fabrication.*

This heresy first showed itself by almost imperceptible symptoms, as persons slipping out of church when the rite of baptism was to be performed, while dark rumours of secret re-baptism began to arise. At length private meetings for worship were established, whose crowded numbers, exceeding those of the thinned church congregations, disclosed the extent of the schism. The magistrates and ministers immediately proceeded to severities which nothing can justify. The denying the lawfulness of infant baptism, the holding a separate meeting from that of the general church, which was called "setting up an altar of their own against God's altar;" and the being concerned

* Mather, vii. 26-7. Neale, i. 298-305, 374-5.

in re-baptizing any who had been already baptized, involved first the alternative of fine or whipping, and, finally, banishment. Obadiah Holmes, John Clarke, and John Crandall, were presented with the two first alternatives, and determined rather to abide corporal punishment, than, by paying the fine, to recognise the right of imposing it. Holmes received thirty lashes, and as he came down from the whipping-post, two of his friends shook him by the hand, and thanked God for his courage and constancy; upon which they were called before the court, and fined forty shillings. It is somewhat remarkable, that Clarke having summoned the ministers to a disputation, his proposal was agreed to under certain conditions; but he shrunk from the undertaking when it came to the point.

The Anabaptist schism was broken in upon by another of a much deeper and direr cast. The singular sect of Quakers had just arisen in the north of England, whence, holding themselves commissioned to convert the whole world, they soon found their way across the Atlantic. They were received there with even more than that imbittered hostility shown to every dissenting body; and the New England clergy and magistrates were at length hurried into dreadful extremities, which involved them in deeper reproach than any other part of their history. That it may not, however, be painted in colours darker than the truth, it may be fair to enumerate the leading grounds alleged by them in defence of those violent proceedings which struck mankind with astonishment and horror.

The Quakers, who have since commanded the re-

spect of mankind by their industry, philanthropic exertion, and orderly deportment, presented in their origin a very different aspect. It was their belief, that the divine government was still administered on the same system of special communication as in Gospel ages, and especially during the mission of the Old Testament prophets. They transferred thus the peculiarities of a temporary and special dispensation to the ordinary course of human affairs. The want of actual revelation was supplied by a warm fancy. The favoured of Heaven felt an inward light, and heard celestial sounds, which guided them in every step of their earthly path. All their actions being directed by special instructions from the fountain of wisdom, the exercise of common sense and experience was of course superseded. Still less could they pay regard to any human authority, however constituted. The question which arose in every such case being, whether they were to obey God or man, was one which admitted of no hesitation. When actual force indeed was employed, they forbore any resistance; they would suffer every thing, but would do nothing. Mather has given an account of their tenets, which, he affirms, is all taken from their own printed books, and which we cannot undertake to expound; but it appears that they considered the divine natures revealed in Scripture in so different a light from other Christians, that they could no longer be recognised as the same beings. Accordingly, he says, but really we can scarcely believe him, that they used to go about saying, "We deny thy Christ; we deny thy God, whom thou callest Father, Son, and Spirit; thy Bible

is the word of the devil." They used to rise up suddenly in the midst of a sermon, and call upon the preacher to cease his abomination. Any of the ministers who waited on, and endeavoured to reason with them, were saluted as hirelings, the brood of Ishmael, and the seed of the serpent. One writer says, "for hellish reviling of the painful ministers of Christ I know no people can match them." The following epithets, bestowed by Fisher on Dr Owen, are said to be fair specimens of their usual addresses:—"Thou green-headed trumpeter! thou hedgehog and grinning dog! thou tinker! thou lizard! thou whirligig! thou firebrand! thou louse! thou moon-calf! thou ragged tatterdemalion! thou livest in philosophy and logic, which are of the devil." Even Penn is said to have addressed the same respected divine as, "Thou bane of reason and beast of the earth."* The civil rulers did not meet with any more courteous salutation. When the governor or any of the council came in sight, they would call out, "Wo to thee, thou oppressor!" and, in the language of Scripture prophecy, would announce the judgments which were about to fall upon his head.†

The ladies, in this as in similar instances, acted the most conspicuous part. The first who, under a command from above, came out to Boston, were Mary Fisher and Ann Austin. Mary had been formerly sent out to the Grand Signior, whom she found in his camp at Adrianople. It is said she obtained an audi-

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* Mather, vii. p. 26.

† Neale, i. 341-5. Mather, b. vii. ch. 4. Hutchinson, 196-205.

ence, the particulars of which I have not been able to learn, except that her reception was much more favourable than from the Christian society of New England.* There she and her companion were immediately committed to close custody, the books found on them burnt, and their persons examined, though without success, for tokens of witchcraft. Soon after, Mary, wife of John Clarke, tailor in London, left her husband and six children, to bring out a message from the Lord to the people of Boston. She had scarcely opened her lips when she was seized, whipped, and sent out of the jurisdiction. The ladies having in vain tried various modes of opening the eyes of the New Englanders, at last bethought themselves of a most injudicious method, which was that of appearing in public without any clothes. They admitted that, when a pious damsel felt herself stirred up to show forth in this manner the spiritual nakedness of the land, it was a heavy cross; but it was one, they thought, from which she could not escape. Accordingly, Deborah Wilson undertook to walk in this state from one end of Salem to the other. She had not made much progress, when the alarm was sounded, and notice being conveyed to the magistrates, they hastened with a *posse* of police, and carried her off to prison, where, in recompense of her course, they inflicted numerous and severe stripes. Bishop, however, considers it a most grievous case, that this sober

* Hutchinson, 169.

and worthy woman, who, being heavily burdened with the iniquities of Salem, had deemed it incumbent on her to march through the place in this manner "as a sign," should not only have been stopped in her career, but laid hold of and whipped by "the wicked rulers." Her lot did not deter others from bearing similar testimony to national defection. Lydia Wardwell made her entry into church during divine service exactly in the same state. The minister stopped, and the congregation, unable to comprehend this high mystery, were in the utmost confusion, till some by-standers having collected a few clothes, threw them round the pious damsel, and conveyed her to the house of correction. Margaret Brewster came in during divine service, with her face painted as black as a coal, in sign of a dreadful plague with which she threatened the colony. Another brought in two large glass bottles, and dashed them against each other, saying, "Thus shall the Lord break you in pieces." Elizabeth Horton, and several of both sexes, at different times ran through the streets, calling out, that "the Lord was coming with fire and sword to plead with Boston,"—and these, which at present would be considered only as insane fooleries, at that time overawed and terrified the people out of their senses. Their madness proceeded sometimes to a still more violent pitch. Mary Ross pretended to be the Saviour himself, named twelve apostles, and foretold her own resurrection. Loud cries being heard from the house of one Faubord, the neighbours broke in, and found that, like Abraham, he had received a com-

mand to sacrifice his first-born, which he was busily employed in executing.* Thomas Case more laudably undertook to raise a friend from the dead; but he is said to have found this a more difficult task.†

Upon these grounds the ministers and rulers complained, that this sect were not only "open capital blasphemers, open seducers from the glorious Trinity, the Lord Christ, the blessed Gospel, and from the holy Scriptures as the rule of life," but that the colony could never enjoy peace or comfort while they were in it. It is said to have been impossible to deal with them, on the most common subjects, as with other rational creatures. If they were asked where they lived, they would only answer, that they lived in God, since in him only they had their being.‡ When any of their number was called before a court, five or six inspired females attended, clothed in sackcloth, and with ashes on their heads, and in deep and hollow tones announced the judgments that would befall the judges, if they should dare to touch the prophets of the Lord. They would neither pay fines, nor work in prison, nor, when liberated, promise to make any change in their conduct. It is impossible, however, to sympathize in the heavy complaints of their non-payment of jail-fees,—an iniquitous exaction, which it would have been more meritorious to remit; nor to avoid reprobating the order to sell Provided Southick and her husband to the plantations in liquidation of this charge, though it was never put in execution.

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* Hutchinson, 204. † Mather, vii. Hutchinson, 20-25.
‡ Neale, i. 345.

Indeed, the government proceeded always to enact more and more violent laws, not merely against the above excesses, but against the simple profession of Quakerism. It was enacted, that if any commander of a ship, &c. should bring within the jurisdiction any Quaker or Quakers, he should pay £100,—that what Quaker soever should arrive in the country be forthwith committed to the house of correction,—that if any one saw a Quaker, he must, under a heavy penalty, run and give notice to the nearest constable. To say any thing in their defence was 40s. for the first offence, and £4 for the second. It was 40s. to entertain a Quaker for an hour, raised afterwards to £5 for a quarter of an hour. The Quaker who should refuse to pay his fines, or to work in prison (which, it is said, "none will ever do,") was to lose first the one ear and then the other.*

The sect, under all these violent measures, continuing still to increase, the rulers began to meditate the last and most fatal extremities. They proclaimed, however, that it was their earnest endeavour to limit the sentence to banishment, and that they would much rather have had them "absent and alive than present and dead;" but that no such choice was left. They sent a number, indeed, out of the colony, giving them solemn warning, that if they returned death would be the penalty. But the Quakers declared, in the most candid manner, that it rested in no shape with them whether they should or should not return to Boston;

* Neale, 315-23-35.

they were in the hand of the Lord; wherever he sent them they must go. Accordingly, they were scarcely beyond the border when the word of the Lord came to them, saying, that they should arise and go unto Boston. The dreadful denunciations still rung in their ears; but whether were they to obey God or man?—or, thus guided, whom should they fear? They arose and went; and scarcely did they seem to have departed when their voice was again heard, denouncing the approaching judgments of Heaven on the guilty city.

It must be stated, that the law inflicting capital punishment on the Quakers met with very strong opposition. It was even with difficulty that a majority of thirteen to twelve was obtained in the court of deputies. In fact, it was absolutely without any foundation in the law of England; for nothing could be more absurd than the attempt to rest it on the clause, itself iniquitous, for hanging Jesuits; between whom and the poor Quakers there was assuredly not the slightest analogy. Even two of the judges, Captain Cudworth and Mr Heatherly, represented to the magistrates, "that these were carnal and antichristian ways, not appointed by God; that the proper mode of convincing gainsayers was by the word and spirit of the Lord, and that the sufferings of the Quakers were grievous to and saddened the hearts of many precious saints." In fact, Captain C. complains, in a letter, "that he that will not whip and lash, persecute and punish men that differ in matters of religion, must not sit on the bench, nor sustain any office in the commonwealth," and adds,—"Our civil powers

are so exercised in matters of religion and conscience, that we have no time to do any thing that tends to promote the civil prosperity of the place." For these sentiments, and for having had some communing with the Quakers, he was deprived of his command and seat on the bench,* and the court proceeded, with unanimous purpose, to the execution of their design.

The first who made themselves obnoxious to the law were Marmaduke Stevenson, William Robinson, Mary Dyar, and William Leddra, who returned from their respective quarters of banishment. Being called before the court, and interrogated as to the reason of their contumacy, they gave none, but that they acted "in obedience to the call of the Lord." They were told that the court did not wish their death, and would hear any thing farther they had to say for themselves. Stevenson gave in a paper, in which he said, that, "while following his plough in the eastern part of Yorkshire, he was in a sort of rapture, and heard a secret voice in his conscience saying, '*I have ordained thee a prophet to the nations;*' and now, for yielding obedience to this command of the everlasting God, and not obeying the commands of men, did he suffer these bonds near unto death." He signed "Marmaduke Stevenson," adding, "But have a new name given to me, which the world knows not of, written in the book of life." Robinson made a similar statement; declaring, that the motion of God within him was his only motive for returning. Here-

* Neale, i. 336-40.

upon sentence was passed upon all the three, and executed against Stevenson and Robinson. Mary received a pardon on the ladder, and was sent back to Rhode Island; but afterwards returned, and suffered the sentence of the law. Some time after, William Leddra suffered, for bearing, as he asserted, his testimony for the Lord against deceivers and the deceived. Wenlock Christison had been also condemned; but argued with such force against the injustice of the proceeding, that, on the day appointed for his execution, he was merely seized, and thrust out of the jurisdiction.*

The report of these executions filled England with horror, and raised a general outcry against the colonial government. Charles II. sent out a warrant, dated September 9, 1661, absolutely prohibiting the putting the Quakers to death, but directing that they should be sent home to be tried in Britain.† They were thenceforth secure against capital punishment, but suffered sundry and great severities of a minor description. Some years after they addressed a humble and doleful petition for farther redress. Neale inveighs against their complaints, as now wholly unreasonable, when the worst they could state was the being tied to a cart's tail, and whipped out of the colony; but really this was not such a delightful recreation as to make us wonder that the poor Quakers should be anxious to dispense with it. They com-

* Neale, i. 325-9, 332-4. Hutchinson, 200-2.

† Neale, i. 334.

plain of " whipping of young and old at posts, at the wheels of great guns, and at carts' tails; of dragging through divers long towns, of having the clothes taken off their backs, and the bed from under them." They do not indulge in any extravagant prophecy, but merely make a solemn appeal to the future tribunal, calling upon the king to deliver them, " that so the blood of the innocent may not be laid to your charge in the terrible day of the Lord, in which day the Lord will make known, in the sight of all his enemies, his mighty power for the saving of his beloved ones, and for the delivering and helping of them who had no helper on the earth."* That prince, however, amid his gay round of dissipation, paid no attention to these less tragical sufferings of the poor Quakers. The New Englanders themselves, in compliance with general opinion, had begun to relax, when, happening, unfortunately, to encounter some disasters in the war with the Indians, they unhappily took up the idea that this was a judgment on them for their toleration of the Quakers, and renewed all their severe edicts.† The Anabaptists having again reared their heads, were exposed to fresh severities, which were the more ill-timed, as the nonconformists in England were suffering under a fresh persecution, raised by the government of Charles II., which was justified, and themselves bitterly reproached, on account of similar conduct in their brethren in New England. Several letters were written to the ministers there by

* Neale i. 375-8. † Hutchinson, 320.

Dr Owen, Dr Goodwin, and other eminent dissenting ministers in England, in which they entreat them "to trust God with his truths and ways," observing, that "truth is not to be propagated or maintained by external force or violence, but by the gentle methods of argument and persuasion; that it is an encroachment on the Divine prerogative, and the undoubted rights of mankind, to punish any for their conscientious and peaceable dissent from the established way of religion, and that truth can never be injured by securing it the liberty to speak for itself."* These judicious letters did not produce all the effect that might have been desired.

The colony derived a considerable accession from the fresh persecution commenced by Charles II. against the nonconformist party, by which two thousand ministers were ejected in one day. Dr Owen even had made arrangements for coming out to take the presidency of Harvard College, but was stopped by special order of the king. The resort to New England, however, was the less frequent, as the royal party at home had viewed it for some time with a very evil eye; and when Charles began his attempt to establish absolute power by wresting the charters from all the corporations, that of New England did not escape his notice. Overtures were therefore made to the legislature of that country for a voluntary surrender of their charter, with the intimation, that, in case of refusal, a writ of *quo warranto* would be issued, the result of

* Neale, i. 372-3.

which would not be doubtful. The governor and council, after serious and doleful consideration, conceived this step as so imperative, that they drew up an humble address, acquiescing in the demand, and only soliciting a new charter, as little different from the former as might be consistent with the king's service and the good of the colony. The assembly of deputies, however, on being summoned, though sensible of their inability to resist, formed the spirited resolution, "that, since they were to die, it should be by the hands of others, and not by their own." They declined, therefore, to found any proceedings upon the royal intimation, but waited such as his majesty might be pleased to take. The *quo warranto* was therefore issued, and the colony, not appearing for itself, was condemned, and its charter forfeited.

The colony, in general, submitted to its fate, as to an inevitable necessity. Sir Edmund Andros, who came out as governor, made such high professions of regard for the public good, and so few innovations in the general train of administration, that the change was scarcely felt. Only a short time, however, was required to manifest the tyrannical propensities of the new governor. A remonstrance being presented against some illegal proceedings, he told them that "they must not expect the laws of England were to follow them to the end of the world." This speech rung through the colony, and inspired the most dismal forebodings. Next an English church was established, whose pompous ritual struck consternation into the settlers, almost all of whom were too young to have ever before witnessed it. The governor then be-

gan to intimate, that he considered all the present clergy as mere laymen; and the most gloomy anticipations arose that the churches would be shut, and that they would be exposed to the same persecution from which their ancestors had fled. At this moment, however, James's proclamation came out in favour of a general toleration; and though some were aware of this as only a prelude to popery, the majority hailed it as a great present relief. The governor, however, soon called their attention to their temporal concerns by announcing, that all the grants of land, having been made under the forfeited charter, conveyed no real right to their present holders; but it was intimated, that if they would acknowledge this, and allow that the lands were in no respect theirs, the king might be graciously pleased to make a new grant, emanating from his free will. Several accordingly followed this course, and obtained the new grant, but burdened with fees so exorbitant, that it was calculated there was not money in the colony to pay them for all its lands. The body of the proprietors therefore kept back; upon which writs of intrusion began to be raised. New and arbitrary taxes were also imposed; and, when the colony earnestly applied for a house of representatives, the answer was, that they would fare as well as old England; but to those who knew what was going on there, this answer was the reverse of encouraging.* As matters, however, were drawing towards the worst, rumours began to arrive of the

* Hutchinson, 322-61. Neale, ii. 42-57-9.

movements of the Prince of Orange. These were studiously stifled by the executive; but, in the spring of 1689, one Winslow brought from Virginia a copy of the prince's proclamation. Winslow was imprisoned as the bearer of a treasonable libel; but it told upon the people, who rose tumultuously, imprisoned the governor and his principal officers, and re-established their old magistrates. The New Englanders were now in a very critical situation. They had committed themselves against James beyond hope of forgiveness; yet, should the event upon which they had proceeded deceive their expectations, they would be wholly unable to withstand the effects of his resentment. There could not, therefore, be a greater jubilee than when, on the 26th May, a vessel arrived from England with advice of the proclamation of William and Mary. All their proceedings were approved and sanctioned, and they were allowed to act upon their former charter till a new one should be issued. They seemed well entitled to expect that this should contain a reinstatement in all their former privileges; but William, though established by circumstances as the champion of liberty, cherished the same love of power that is usual with monarchs. The former government, singular as it may seem, was neither more nor less than a pure republic,—the governor and his principal officers being chosen by the people, all laws enacted, and all taxes imposed by their representatives. William evaded all the demands made by the American deputies for the re-establishment of this system, and would grant only a new charter, upon a materially different basis. The king had now the appointment of the governor and

principal officers. The governor had a negative on the laws passed by the assembly, and the king had an ulterior negative, provided he exercised it before the end of three years. With the exception of this last feature, the constitution was similar to that of the old country, and the New Englanders were therefore fain, since nothing better could be done, to be tolerably content.*

The colony seemed now to have a fair prospect of enjoying a respite, not only from external dangers, but from its long train of interior agitations. The inhabitants were fully secured in the possession of their property, and the toleration introduced by the Prince of Orange became henceforth a law, which nothing could disturb. Instead, however, of enjoying the immunity which these circumstances appeared to promise, it was suddenly shaken, and its very existence almost compromised, by a wild and frantic delusion, from which the progress of knowledge appeared by this time to have delivered all the sane and civilized portion of mankind.

A belief in the direct and sensible agency of supernatural beings has universally prevailed in ages of ignorance and superstition. It formed the life of the Pagan mythology; and it has not been wholly effaced among the less enlightened professors of Christianity, especially amid those superstitious forms which defaced it during the dark ages. Even the first reformers, who displayed such vigour and independence

* Hutchinson, 372-92. Neale, i. 101-8.

of mind, and brought to light so many important truths, could not wholly shake off the delusions of the age. Luther's enemies are able to produce from his writings some comments of this nature, which appear almost incredible. The New Englanders brought with them this belief, still in a very prevailing state; and all the circumstances of their situation tended to stamp on their minds solemn and supernatural impressions. "They had an ocean, a thousand leagues in extent, between them and all the delights of life they had once enjoyed. On their backs they had a wilderness without limits. As soon as it was dark, their ears were filled with the roaring of wolves and other savage beasts, or, which was worse, the yells of savage men. Where there was any gloom upon the mind, such a scene must tend to increase it." Modern superstition had a character peculiarly gloomy. It rested upon the supposition, that the powers of evil had a certain range, within which they might act and become visible. The prince of darkness had a species of outward empire, of which many of the human race, tempted by various lures, were so infatuated as to become the subjects. These persons were invested with a portion of the powers of their infernal master, which they employed to torment, in an extraordinary manner, all whom they regarded with enmity, or who did not become members of their impious community. Mather, after Hale, defines a witch to be "a person, who, having the free use of reason, doth knowingly and willingly seek and obtain of the devil, or of any other besides the true God, an ability to do or know strange things, or

things which he cannot by his own human abilities arrive unto. This person is a witch."

Mr Paris, the minister of Salem, had a daughter and niece, children of nine and eleven years of age, who were afflicted in a singular manner. The symptoms—choaking in the throat, suppression of speech, twisting of the limbs, sensation as if pins were stuck into them,—seem to point at hysterical affections, communicated perhaps by sympathy from one to the other. All the physicians in the neighbourhood were called, but without effect, till one of them, after much consideration, gave it as his judgment, "that they were under an evil hand." From this time spiritual remedies were alone resorted to. Mr Paris held several days of fasting and prayer, in which he was joined by his brother ministers; and at last the whole town of Salem joined in one general day of humiliation. No progress, however, was thus made, either in discovering the nature of the disease, or finding any remedy. At length, an Indian domestic and his wife baked a cake of some strange materials, the result of which was, the denouncing of Tituba, another Indian female servant, as the author of the mischief. Thenceforth the eyes of the children were wonderfully cleared, and even in Tituba's absence they saw her image or spectre, pinching, sticking pins into them, or otherwise tormenting their bodies. Hereupon Mr Paris fell upon Tituba, whom he beat and tortured, till she confessed that she alone was the author of all the mischief. She did not stop here, but soon professed to have become herself a sufferer, being tormented by the spectres or shapes of

several of her accomplices, enraged at her having betrayed the secrets of the kingdom of darkness.* From this moment the evil spread daily wider and wider. Mercy Lewis, Sarah Vibber, and three other females, charged Mr Burroughs, a clergyman, with using against them the arts of necromancy. An indictment was speedily drawn up, in which it was charged, that these damsels were by him "tortured, afflicted, pined, consumed, wasted, and tormented, against the peace of our sovereign lord and lady the king and queen, and the form of the statute in that case made and provided." Mr Burroughs being brought to trial, argued, "that there neither are nor ever were witches that, having made a compact with the devil, can send a devil to torment other people at a distance." This was a flight far beyond the place or age; his defence was pronounced altogether frivolous, and sentence of death was at once pronounced.† The evil, however, instead of being checked, spread more and more. New charges were daily preferred, till the prisons of Salem being full, the accused were sent to those of other towns, where they seemed to carry with them the infection. The whole colony was seized with alarm. They seemed to have come altogether under the power of Satan, and knew not how they were to resist this mighty "descent of wicked spirits from their high places." A solemn and general fast was appointed, that the Lord might be besought "to rebuke Satan, and

* Neale, ii. 124-8. Mather, ii. 60, vi. 79. † Neale, 130-4.

show light to his people in this day of darkness." An association was formed of some of the principal people, " to meet this dreadful assault from hell," and fearlessly to prosecute all who had entered into this dire compact with the prince of darkness.

In the series of trials which succeeded, nothing appears so singular as the frank and ample confessions of a crime which not only involved the deepest infamy, but was followed by immediate death. The accused related at full length the diabolical meetings at which they had been present, the long consultations held as to the means of overthrowing the kingdom of heaven, and establishing that of Satan. They showed the poles on which they rode through the air, the wounds made in their bodies for the purpose of drawing the blood to be used in the signature of the fatal bond, by which their souls were made over to Satan. Some even showed the little images, by pricking and pinching of which with pins they excited corresponding affections in the objects of their enmity. Doubtless, in some cases, these declarations might be the mere result of a distempered brain. But the narrative lays open a much deeper and more general cause, by which they are too amply accounted for. The sentence of death was only executed against those supposed hardened and impenitent sorcerers who refused to own their guilt; the confessors all obtained a respite, and none were ultimately brought to the scaffold. It is dreadful to add, that they were called upon to bear witness against, and be instruments in taking away the lives of their unfortunate fellow-sufferers. Thus only the honest

and conscientious suffered; while those destitute of truth and principle escaped. It must, however, be owned, that the statement afterwards given in by Deliverance Dane, Abigail Baker, and four other women, gives a very natural and affecting picture of the impulses by which they were driven to this criminal course. They say, "Joseph Ballard of Andover's wife being sick, he either from himself, or the advice of others, fetched two of the persons called the afflicted persons from Salem village to Andover, which was the cause of that dreadful calamity which befel us at Andover. We were blindfolded, and our hands were laid on the afflicted persons, they being in their fits, and falling into these fits at our coming into their presence, and then they said that we were guilty of afflicting them; whereupon we were all seized as prisoners by a warrant from the justice of peace, and forthwith carried to Salem; and by reason of that sudden surprisal, we knowing ourselves altogether innocent of that crime, we were all exceedingly astonished, and amazed, and consternated, and affrighted out of our reason; and our dearest relations seeing us in that dreadful condition, and knowing our great danger, they, out of tender love and pity, persuaded us to confess what we did confess; and, indeed, that confession was no other than what was suggested to us by some gentlemen, they telling us that we were witches, and they knew it, and we knew it, and they knew that we knew it; which made us think that we were so, and our understanding, and our reason, and our faculties being almost gone, we were not capable of judging of our

condition; as also the hard measures they used with us rendered us incapable of making any defence, but we said any thing and every thing they desired, and most of what we said was in fact but a consenting to what they said."*

There soon appeared among a number of these unhappy confessors a disposition to retract. Samuel Wardmell was the first who solemnly renounced his former declaration, upon which he was immediately tried, condemned, and executed; and the name of Wardmell was ever after sounded in the ears of those who showed any tendency to swerve from the first confession which had been extorted from them. This did not deter a few from following the example, in particular a poor girl, Mary Jacobs, who gives the following account of the matter in a letter to her mother:—"I having, through the threats of the magistrates, and my own vile and wretched heart, confessed several things contrary to my own conscience and knowledge, though to the wounding of my own soul, the Lord pardon me for it; but, oh! the terrors of a wounded conscience who can bear! But, blessed be the Lord, he would not let me go on in my sins, but, in mercy I hope to my soul, would not suffer me to keep it in any longer; but I was forced to confess the truth of all before the magistrates, who would not believe me, and God knows how soon I shall be put to death. Dear father, let

* Neale, ii. 160-2.

me beg your prayers to the Lord in my behalf, and send us a joyful and happy meeting in heaven."*

Of all who suffered during this dreadful period, there was not one who did not to the very last make the most solemn protestations of innocence. One of the most affecting was that of Mary Easty, who, on the day before her death, presented a petition, not for herself, but for those whom she saw about to meet the same fate upon the same unjust and delusive charges. She writes, " I was confined before a whole month on the same account I am now condemned for. The Lord above knew my innocence then, and likewise does now, as will be known at the great day to men and angels. I petition your honours, not for my own life, for I know I must die, and my appointed time is come, but if it be possible that no more innocent blood may be shed, which undoubtedly cannot be avoided in the way and course you go on. By my own innocency I know you are in the wrong way; the Lord in his infinite mercy direct you in this great work, if it be his blessed will that innocent blood be not shed. They say myself and others have made a league with the devil; we cannot confess; the Lord alone, who is the searcher of all hearts, knows that, as I shall answer it at the tribunal seat, I know not the least thing of witchcraft; therefore I cannot, I durst not, belie my own soul."†

The advocates of witchcraft being afterwards call-

* Neale, ii. 146-7. † Ib. ii. 148-50.

ed upon to produce some one confession, which was free from the above deep grounds of suspicion, laid their main stress on that of a personage called W. B., a man about forty, who, after public confession, wrote a spontaneous letter to the magistrates, more fully confirming his former acknowledgment. But he had still before his eyes both the fear of death and the hope of liberation to induce him to court the reigning frenzy. Besides, on considering the measure which this letter contains of common sense and intelligible English, the adherents of the opposite side seem to think that they may make their adversaries welcome to any benefit it can afford them. The following extract may give some idea both of this and perhaps of other similar confessions:—

"God having called me to confess my sin and apostacy in that fall, in giving the devil advantage over me, appearing in the shape of a black man, in the evening, to set my name to his book, as I have owned to my shame, he told me that I should not want, so doing. At Salem village, there being, a little off the meeting-house, about a hundred fine blades, some with rapiers by their sides, which was called, and might be for ought I know, by B. and Bu, and the trumpet sounded, and bread and wine, which they called the Sacrament; but I had none, being carried over all on a stick, and never was present at any other meeting. I being at cart last Saturday all the day of hay and English corn, the devil brought my shape to Salem, and did afflict M. S. and R. F. by clitching my hand. And on Sabbath-day my shape afflicted A. M., &c. The design was to destroy

Salem village, and to begin at the minister's house, and to destroy the churches of God, and to set up Satan's kingdom, and then all will be well," &c.

A regular trial, according to English law, was given to all the accused; but, in the present temper both of judges and jury, it was always easy to foresee the result. The panels were made answerable, not merely for any thing which they themselves were even alleged to have committed in person, but for what their shapes or spectres, called up by the crazed imagination of their accusers, had done in their stead. The following is a specimen of the testimony which was accepted:—

"John Lauder.—As he was sitting in his room, a black hobgoblin jumped into the room, which spake to him these words:—'I understand you are troubled in mind; be ruled by me, and you shall want nothing in this world.' But when he endeavoured to strike it, there was nothing. Upon this he ran out of the house, and saw the prisoner in her orchard; but had not power to speak to her, but concluded his trouble was all owing to her."* The slightest circumstances in the deportment of the prisoner were laid hold of. Thus, when Rebecca Nurse saw Deliverance Hobbes brought in as a witness, she exclaimed,—"Why do you bring her, she is one of us?" upon which sentence was immediately pronounced, it being interpreted as meaning that they were joint witches; and it was in vain that she declared herself only to mean that they were

* Neale, 143-6.

fellow-prisoners. The following may be given as a specimen of their mode of interrogation. The afflicted being once for a long time prevented by fits from speaking, the chief judge asked the prisoner, "Who he thought hindered these witnesses from giving in their testimonies? and he answered, he supposed it was the devil. The judge replied, How comes the devil so loth to have any testimony given against you?" which is said to have covered the prisoner with confusion.* There appear, indeed, some occasional symptoms of an equitable and even liberal spirit. Thus, though the children of Martha Carryer bore testimony that she had initiated them into the most profound mysteries of witchcraft, and that the devil even lay under promise to make her the queen of hell, yet, on account of their tender age, this evidence was not made use of.† It appears, indeed, that before giving it, the poor little Carryers had been tied by the feet, and hung with the head downwards till the blood began to burst from their nose and mouth.‡

It is lamentable to think that there appears to have been as much of guilt as of madness in these dreadful proceedings. As soon as a confession had been extorted from any of the unhappy accused persons, they were immediately called upon to bear witness against, and be the means of taking away the lives of others; and though this was done under the fear of, and as the only means of escape from impending death, still their conduct was not the less marked by entire want

* Neale, i. 132. † Ib. ii. 147. ‡ Ib. 163.

of principle. But there seem clear evidences of a still deeper guilt on the part of the afflicted. Many doubtless acted under the mere influence of a crazed imagination; but there are admitted proofs in others of the most deliberate and diabolical falsehood. Thus, the following was considered as affording the most satisfactory evidence of witchcraft:—When the afflicted reported himself tormented by a spectre, he was made to point out the place where it stood, which place was then struck with a rapier. A shriek was usually heard, and the afflicted named the part of the body which had received the wound. A warrant was immediately taken out against the person whose spectre it was, and that part of his or her body searched, when, if there appeared marks of a wound, the certainty was supposed to rise as high as the nature of the case admitted. But, in several instances, the persons were able to establish, that these hurts had arisen from accidents long prior to the alleged injury sustained by their spectre, and of which the accusers were aware. Even Mather mentions a man who, being tormented by a number of cats, chose to imagine that one of them was a poor widow in his neighbourhood. He provided, therefore, a sword, with which he struck the cat on the back. He immediately called for an inquest on the poor woman's person, and found a severe corresponding hurt. The widow, however, saved her life by establishing that this wound, caused by the gore of a cow, had been under treatment during some months by a respectable surgeon. Another who, when appearing in spectre, received a large rent in her green gown, which was found actually sewed up

at the very place, proved that both the damage and the repair had taken place long prior to the pretended blow with the rapier.* Mather and Hale, indeed, are willing to conclude, that these were deep stratagems of Satan, who, knowing of these previous hurts by a secret agency, guided the rapier to the place, with the view of raising an unjust suspicion against the innocent. But much faith was required to accept of this solution, and there appeared the most reasonable ground of doubt, that both the stratagem and its satanic purpose lay at the door of the afflicted themselves. In other cases this was still clearer. At the trial of Sarah Good, an afflicted girl showed a knife, which she said the spectre of the panel had stuck into her, and broke it in her body; but an honest young fellow stepped forward, and, at the risk of his life, showed the handle and the corresponding part of the blade, which he had broken lately in the afflicted's presence. Another girl showed part of a white sheet, said to be torn off a spectre in the act of tormenting her; but Calef reports it as proved, that she had herself provided the bit of sheet on the day preceding. Others showed the marks on themselves of a full set of teeth, inflicted by the shapes of persons, who, when examined, were found not to have a tooth in their heads.† It seems difficult to discover any adequate motive for such diabolical proceedings. All accounts, indeed, notice the singular alacrity with which the sheriff's officers confiscated the goods of

* Mather, vi. 83. † Neale, i. 128-9.

those who were believed to be in covenant with Satan, and which, even when restored, were found to have undergone a lamentable diminution; but I cannot find that any part of these goods went to the afflicted. They appear to have had no visible motive except enmity to the accused, the pleasure of exciting a strong sensation in the public, and the notice and favour of some of the leading persons during their present state of frenzied excitation.

The colony was now in a dreadful condition. The evil had reached a magnitude which appalled the firmest believers in its reality. In the course of two months, nineteen had been executed; eight more were under sentence of death. The prisons held one hundred and fifty ready for trial, and could no longer receive the additional crowds daily thrust into them. No man's property, character, or life, were for a moment secure; all lay at the mercy of this band of crazed and malignant beings. The afflicted flew continually at higher game, and began to accuse the most eminent persons in the colony, till it became evident that all must be soon involved in one common destruction. Even those whose faith had been firmest, and who had taken the most active part in drawing forth informations, felt a sudden revulsion, when they learned that their own spectres were beginning to walk abroad, and to commit deeds which would bring them to the gallows.* Mr Bradstreet, a near relation of the governor, and who had hitherto been among the most

* Mather, ii. 63.

active prosecutors of witchcraft, became disgusted with the task, and threw it up. Hereupon the afflicted accused him of riding through the air on a dog. Bradstreet did not venture to face the accusation, but instantly fled the colony; and the judges were obliged to content themselves with putting to death the dog as a species of accomplice. There arose, however, gradually among all reflecting persons a conviction that they had gone too far, and that they were labouring under some deep and dreadful delusion. It appeared incredible, as Mather expresses it, "that, in a place of so much knowledge, so many in so small a compass of land should so abominably leap into the devil's lap all at once." Yet the ministers and judges were alike bewildered, not knowing where to stop, or where they had gone too far. The trials had been conducted strictly according to English law, and the most approved code of demonology; and the question was how to discover the error, without giving up the belief in witchcraft, and thereby, it was said, belying the experience of all ages and all nations.

The first gleam of common sense which broke in upon this scene of madness was that relating to what was called spectre-evidence. The governor called a meeting of the ministers, and submitted to them how far a man ought to be punished upon mere testimony borne against his spectre. The ministers, after serious deliberation, pronounced, not that these were the reveries of a half-crazed brain, but that Satan could assume any shape he pleased, and in that shape do mischief, without any concurrence of the person to whom the shape really belonged. Those, therefore,

who had attained a good name by a good life should not be condemned merely for actions in which their shapes only appeared to have been concerned. In other respects they exhorted the governor to persevere in the vigorous prosecution of witchcraft, "according to the wholesome statutes of the English nation."*

Notwithstanding this important and salutary decision, considerable latitude was still left for these deplorable proceedings; but the tide of public opinion had now set in strongly against them. Of fifty-six bills which were presented at the next sessions, the grand jury brought in thirty *ignoramus*, rejecting, in some instances, even the confessions of the accused, though in one case the court, to their great dishonour, sent them back to reconsider their verdict. Of the remaining twenty-six the petty jury condemned only three; but the governor had now determined to make a general sweep of the whole proceedings. He pardoned all those under sentence, threw open the prison-doors, and turned a deaf ear to all the outcries and groans of the afflicted. The believers in witchcraft anticipated the most gloomy consequences from the free scope thus given to the operations of the powers of darkness. Great then was their surprise to find that from this moment all the troubles of the afflicted ceased, and were never more heard of. At the same time the confessors "fell off from their confession," either owning it as false, or declaring they remembered nothing about it.

* Neale, ii. 156-7.

Mather seeks to account for this, by supposing that Satan, after being allowed such an extraordinary range, had been suddenly chained up. But others could not help suspecting that the prosecutions had been the main exciting cause in the whole of this dreadful transaction; as it is admitted, that the more "the afflicted were hearkened unto, the more they multiplied," and that there had been deep guilt as well as delusion in the whole affair. All who had been actively concerned as prosecutors or judges in these transactions, hastened publicly to express their contrition for the parts they had acted. Twelve of the persons who had most frequently sat on the juries published a paper signed with their own hands, in which, among other things, they say, "We confess, that we ourselves were not capable to understand, nor able to withstand, the mysterious delusions of the powers of darkness and prince of the air, but were prevailed upon to take up with such evidence as, we fear, was insufficient for touching the lives of any. We do hereby acknowledge, that we justly fear that we were sadly deluded and mistaken, for which we are much disquieted and distressed in our minds, and do therefore most humbly beg forgiveness, first of God for Christ's sake, for this our error; and we also pray, that we may be considered candidly and right by the living sufferers, as being then under the power of a strong and general delusion. We do declare, according to our present minds, we would none of us do such things again for the whole world." One of the judges delivered in a similar paper, to be read before the congregation, and stood

up in their presence while it was reading. Mr Pais also asked pardon of God and man for the part he had taken; but the people never could efface from their minds the innocent blood which he had been the means of shedding, and he was obliged to leave Salem. Many now urged that there ought to be an inquiry into the conduct, both of the confessors and the afflicted, when it was too evident that so many had been guilty of the most dreadful perjury. But the guilt and madness had been so distributed through the whole society, that it was difficult for one to reproach another. "Considering," says Mather, "the combustion and confusion this matter had brought us into, it was thought safer to underdo than to overdo." Neale considers it unaccountable that trial should not have been made of hanging two or three, to see if they would adhere to their confession to the last; but really this was cutting very deep for a mere experiment. It was esteemed wisest, once for all, to throw a veil of oblivion over the whole of that dreadful abyss.*

Thus terminated the long series of agitations which shook the colony, till that greater one by which it was separated from the mother country. We have not yet noticed, however, the events without, arising from its relation with the neighbouring Indian tribes. A more full view of the habits and manners of the northern aborigines is reserved till we reach the territory of the Five Nations, where the

* Neale, ii. 164-70. Mather, ii. 62-4.

native character presented itself under its boldest and most striking features. The nations about New England appear to have been an inferior race to those on the lakes. They had not the same forms of polity, nor did they display the same copious and figurative oratory which has been admired in the latter.* The government was entirely monarchical, absolute power being exercised by the Sachems, or Kings, who transmitted the throne by hereditary succession to their posterity. In matters of difficulty the Sachem held a council of his nobles, and his deportment there is said to have been highly dignified and graceful, and the discussions carried on in a very orderly and judicious manner.† The ground was cultivated, but solely by the women, who sowed, reaped, collected into barns, dug in the ground, and lined the houses with bark. They held it commendable to keep their wives well at work, and censured the English for spoiling theirs by allowing them to remain almost constantly idle. The only occupations in which they would employ themselves were those which might bear also the character of diversion, hunting, fishing, and plundering. Their only medicine, besides the howling and dancing of the Powaws, or priests, consisted in bringing themselves, according to the Russian system, into a profuse perspiration, and then plunging into the nearest brook. Their only vessels were single trees hollowed out, or pieces of bark sewed together; if these overset, "it is but

* Hutchinson, 468. † Mather, vi. 51.

a little paddling like a dog, and they are soon where they were." Nothing could equal their astonishment on the arrival of the first ship, "to see the monster come sailing in, and spitting fire with a mighty noise out of her floating side."*

The Indians at first received the English well, hospitably invited them into their wigwams, and guided many to their houses who had wandered in the woods, and were in danger of perishing. But this good understanding, as usually happens in the intercourses between civilized and savage man, was not of long duration. The colonists, however, set out on the principle of treating the Indians in that just and equitable manner which suited their own religious profession. They passed laws, not only prohibiting the seizure by violence of the Indian lands, but even the purchase of them without leave from the general court, who took care, that the natives in their ignorance should not part with them for a price wholly inadequate. The Indians at first parted most readily with wide ranges of unoccupied territory in exchange for the new luxuries brought by the strangers. But when they found themselves gradually hemmed in, their hunting grounds narrowed, and themselves shut out from their ancient fields, they repented what they had done, and began to dread that these intruding strangers would by degrees drive them wholly from the land of their ancestors. Their passions being inflamed by the use of

* Mather, iii. 192.

strong liquors, which, notwithstanding the legal prohibition, were largely sold to them, occasions of quarrel could not fail to arise. In some of these Englishmen were wounded, and even killed; the colonial government pursued the culprits, and proceeded against them according to the rigour of English law,—a measure which, not being conformable to Indian ideas, kindled deep resentment, and led to measures of retaliation. There appear also to have been on the border, especially in Connecticut, a sort of outer settlements, almost beyond the pale of law and order. So little care seems to have been taken of their instruction, that Mather mentions with horror, persons among them who had grown up without having ever heard the name of Christ. It may easily be supposed that the dealings of such persons would afford every reasonable ground of provocation; and the Indians, as usual with savages, confounding all the English together, were exasperated, not against these individuals only, but against the whole nation. Hostilities were begun by the Pequods, a powerful nation on the Connecticut border, who could muster a thousand warriors. They did not face the English in the field, or attack any of their principal posts, but hovered round the border, and sought to attack and destroy detached posts and villages. The plunder which they obtained formed an incentive to farther attacks, and they became "like wolves, continually gaping and yelling after their prey." On approaching any post, they kept themselves concealed during the night, amid hedges and bushes, till daybreak, when they burst in with

frightful cries. Their first step was to set fire to the houses, which, being of wood, instantly caught the flame; and when the alarmed inmates rushed out, they killed the men, and carried away the women and children, with all their effects.* The honour of the females was not in any danger, but they were treated with the most dreadful cruelty. When the Indians were annoyed by the crying of the children, they would seize them, dash out their brains against a tree or stone, and throw them away. When the females, from fatigue or sickness, were unable to keep pace with them, they threatened them with death if they lagged behind, and when this did not produce the effect, would plunge the tomahawk in their brains, tear off the scalp, and march on. Although they took no concern in the spread of their own religion, they made it a sort of religious war, viewing the God of their enemies with the same enmity as themselves. On entering a village they hastened to burn the meeting-house, and then tauntingly asked the English where they would now go to pray. They burned all the bibles they could find, and while they were torturing their captives, uttered blasphemies against the objects of Christian worship, "bidding Jesus come and deliver them if he could."† The English might have found it difficult to withstand them, but for an alliance with the Naragansets, the second most powerful people, whose ancient enmity to the Pequods prevailed over their jealousy of

* Hubbard, 62-110. † Ibid.

the foreigners. A treaty was therefore drawn up, signed by the marks of Agamaug, Wampsh, Tawageron, and other chiefs, binding themselves to the most active co-operation with the English, into whose hands Wobeqnop, Weowthim, and Weenew, their kinsmen, were placed as hostages. The English, however, found it necessary, in the active field-operations, to rely chiefly on their own strength. Some of the captains at first committed the error of imagining that the Indians should be fought in their own way, by small parties lying in ambush and seeking to surprise them; but they were found quite an overmatch for the English in this mode of fighting, and, in consequence, a body of seventy, the flower of the county of Essex, were entirely cut to pieces, filling the country with mourning, not only that they were so miserably lost, but by so palpable an error. But, when the English marched in a close and regular body, the Indians did not venture to face them, and could only wound a few by firing out of the bushes and hollows. The difficulty was how to reach them, and strike a decisive blow. This could only be effected by storming their forts,—an enterprise of difficulty and danger; and when these were successively carried, they lodged themselves in the marshes, and it was found "ill fighting a wild beast in his own den." Yet the war was conducted with such vigour, that the Pequods were partly exterminated, partly reduced to submission. Other tribes, however, rose behind them; and even the Naragansets, the original allies of the English, when they saw the power of these strangers becoming

paramount, began to side with their enemies. The Indian chiefs began to imitate the English mode of fighting, and even to assume English names, with some characteristic epithet. One-eyed John, Stone-wall John, and Sagamore Sam, kept the colony in perpetual alarm. But their most deadly and formidable enemy was Philip Sachem of the Wompanoags, who kept them for years in constant alarm, till his death established them completely paramount over all this range of territory.

All the European nations had made a very solemn profession, that a leading, if not the most leading object of their settlement had been to communicate the light of the Gospel to the savage and ignorant natives. In many cases, indeed, the action of very different motives had been conspicuous, and the one alleged had served chiefly to lull their conscience under conduct the most opposite to that which the Gospel would have sanctioned. The New England settlers were perhaps the most really and earnestly concerned for the eternal welfare of that untaught race among whom they were established. Such had not been the case in the earlier and more northern settlements, where Mather mentions a clergyman, who, from the pulpit, alluded to this as the main object of his flock's coming out, when one of the principal members rose and said, "Sir, you are mistaken,—our main object was to catch fish." The Massachusets settlers, on the contrary, from the first, applied themselves to this important undertaking; they set apart for it several pious and zealous ministers, and they established a seminary for the education of the Indians, especially to the work of

the ministry. They could not indeed boast of the crowds of converts which were apparently made by the Catholic missionaries; but the latter, it is observed, were often content with a very nominal profession, and the mere performance of some outward rites. Thus a whole tribe in the vicinity is mentioned as having been baptized by the French in one day, in consideration of a shirt presented to each; but as the shirt, in the course of a few weeks, got excessively dirty, they came in a body, and intimated their intention to renounce their baptism, unless they were supplied with a change.* The Massachusets ministers, on the contrary, were perhaps rather too rigid in the proofs which they demanded of a regenerate and believing state previous to reception into church communion. Instead of making any allowance for the weakness of the Indians, they only increased their rigour. A day was appointed, called *Natootomnpteackesuk*, or "the day of asking questions," when a large body were jointly catechized, their answers taken down, and circulated through the most spiritual persons of the colony, by whom their fitness might be judged of.† The missionaries judiciously preached only short sermons, and then asked the Indians if they understood what had been said, and invited them to ask questions. This invitation was readily accepted, and they often spent several hours in conversation. Some of their questions were rather irrelevant, and even puzzling, as, "why sea-water was salt and river-water fresh?

* Neale, i. 284. † Mather, iii. p. 197-8.

why the ocean did not rise and overflow the earth?" They asked also if God could understand them when they prayed in the Indian language? how there were so many people in the world when they had been all drowned by the flood? and why the English should know so much more of God, when all were the children of the same father? After they had been satisfied on all these points, there remained the question, what the Sachems would think? and this was followed by the higher and deeper question, what the Powaws would think? The Powaws were the priests and oracles of America; when any one was sick, when he had lost any thing, when he wished to know the lucky time and manner of doing any thing, he had recourse to them. Deadly were the denunciations of these gifted persons against the apostate Indian who should forsake their creed for English gods and an English priesthood. Not only would he be deprived of their aid in every emergency, but he might expect from their wrath the most deadly evils; death itself could and would be inflicted by magical influence, if he should continue obstinate. Several circumstances, however, combined to raise a doubt of the infallibility of the Powaws. It was observed in their magico-medical capacity, that, after they had spent hours in howling, dancing, leaping, and blowing upon the patient, and all being in vain, had pronounced that his hour was come, an English doctor, by a very simple application, would restore him to health. The Indians never indeed could raise their minds to the idea, that the divinities of the Powaws had not a real existence; they only considered them as less powerful than those

of the English, from whom, consequently, the needful protection might be expected; but indeed this cannot be wondered at, when we find the same to have been the opinion of the gravest and most learned divines of the colony, who never doubted of the supernatural powers of the Indian priesthood.* Several, therefore, observed, that, notwithstanding the inferiority of the gods of the Powaws, their obligations to them had been so great, that they could not handsomely desert them; and to this the ministers do not seem to have known very well what to answer. Political opposition was also encountered; "the devils," it is said, "having the Sachems on their side," who dreaded that "their little kingdoms and glories"† would be shaken, if a new doctrine were introduced among their people. They even used threats to deter the missionaries from proceeding in the work of conversion. Philip, on being addressed by Mr Elliot, took hold of his button, telling him, "he cared as little for his Gospel as for that button."

Notwithstanding these obstacles, Mr Elliot, Mr Experience Mayhew, and several other excellent persons, succeeded in prevailing on a number of the Indians in different quarters to form themselves into villages, and follow a civilized and Christian life. The chief settlements were at Concord, Nantucket, and particularly at Martha's Vineyard, where the ecclesiastical establishment was entirely Indian. Hiacomes, a young native chief, having embraced Christianity, and

* Mather, vi. 52. † Ibid. 198-9.

attained a competent knowledge of religion, was appointed pastor, while John Tockinosh and Joshua Mummeechegs were named as his elders.* It was made an object, not only to instruct them in their religious duties, and wean them from their roving and turbulent mode of life, but generally to banish the rude and unseemly habits in which they were wont to indulge; and they were persuaded to impose fines upon delinquencies of this nature. It was contracted under heavy penalties, that they should not kill lice between their teeth, that they should not besmear their bodies with grease, nor set up the dreadful howlings to which they were accustomed. Women who appeared with their hair hanging loose, or their bosom uncovered, had a fine levied on them. The Indian who beat his wife had his hands tied behind his back, and was carried in this state to the tribunal, where he was punished at the pleasure of the judge.† The Indian females made considerable efforts to obtain an opinion from the ministers, that if a man beat his wife, all his prayers would be vain; but however bent on putting down the practice, they do not seem to have been prepared to commit themselves altogether to this extent. In a few years, matters were so far advanced, that there were formed in Massachusets alone, thirty congregations of "praying Indians," whose numbers amounted to about three thousand. From that time the progress seems to have been rather retrograde. After the first novelty, the old habits of the Indians,

* Mather, vi. 524. † Neale, i. 245-50.

and particularly their sloth and love of strong liquors, began again to strive for the mastery. There is stated, indeed, to have been a most strict observance of that clause in the Fourth Commandment, which says, "In it thou shalt not do any work;" but as no regard was paid to the preceding clause, "Six days shalt thou labour," much doubt was felt as to the purity of the motives by which they were swayed. The attempt to organize an Indian priesthood failed altogether, the converts possessing neither the steadiness nor sobriety requisite for the holy office. The duty, therefore, devolved upon European teachers, who, in many cases, scarcely obtained the wages of a day-labourer, and that very precariously. The formation, however, of a society in England for the propagation of the Gospel in this settlement, and pretty liberal contributions raised in the principal towns, in some degree remedied this evil.

CHAPTER VI.

SETTLEMENT OF THE OTHER COLONIES.

Secondary States of New England.—Connecticut.—Rhode Island.—New Hampshire.—New York; settled by the Dutch; Transference to England.—Maryland.—Carolina; its Constitutions; various Vicissitudes.—Georgia.—Pennsylvania; Account of Penn; Treaty with the Indians; its rapid Increase.

THE settlement of Virginia and that of New England, or, more strictly speaking, Massachusetts, have exhibited on the greatest scale, and under the most striking features, that series of early and daring adventure, by which the vast Indian desert was converted into the seat of great and flourishing nations. The other states were peopled in a great measure out of these two; they found a path already marked out for them, and trod nearly in the same footsteps. To enter, therefore, into a similar detail of their fortunes and progress would be inconsistent with our limits, and would involve a wearisome monotony. Each, however, had some characters peculiar to itself, which will be found deserving of a brief survey.

The secondary states of New England were mostly peopled out of the original and central colony of

Massachusetts; and, as may have been observed, the emigration was, in several instances, connected with circumstances not very highly meritorious on its part. Connecticut, however, did not owe its existence to any such equivocal cause. It arose merely out of the overflowing of the surplus population of Massachusetts proceeding in search of new and unoccupied lands. In this pursuit, Mr Chalmers remarks, that they made no inquiry, either of the Plymouth Company, in whom the whole of this coast had been originally vested, or of the Marquis of Hamilton, to whom it had been afterwards conveyed, or of the Dutch, who, from their strong settlement on the Hudson, had spread themselves in this direction. Finding the territory one vast unoccupied forest, they very coolly divided it among themselves, nor was any one present able to start any objection. The company, somewhat surprised to hear that its territories were occupied without even the trouble of giving them notice, sent out a code of instructions for the regulation of the settlers. But that body declined paying any attention to them, and undertook the entire management of its own concerns. Its only formidable annoyance arose from the Indians, of whose attacks, from its advanced position, it was obliged to stand the first brunt; and till the Pequods and Philip were finally humbled, Connecticut enjoyed only short intervals of tranquillity. It prospered, however, being recruited by several Puritans of distinction, who came direct from England; nor did it, even after the accession of Charles II., meet the fate which its daring courses might seem likely to have prepared for it. That

prince, amid the joy of the Restoration, granted to Connecticut a charter on the most liberal terms. The colonists were erected into a corporate body, having a right to all the lands extending across to the Pacific Ocean. Connecticut, therefore, conducted itself entirely as an independent state; and even the regicides lived there in security. As Charles and his parliament, however, began, in the leisure of peace, to turn their attention to the regulation of these rising colonies, they were not a little mortified to find that they had divested themselves of all power to regulate or control them. At length Charles began to take a more daring course, and to break down all the barriers which obstructed his progress to absolute power. Massachusetts was the first point beyond the Atlantic upon which this system was brought to bear; and it has been seen, that, after an honourable struggle, that state was obliged to yield to superior power, and to see its rights wrested from it. While this contest was pending, Connecticut was allowed to stand by, each party foreseeing that its lot would be ruled by that of its greater neighbour. Massachusetts fell, and Connecticut behoved to follow. The people, on seeing that this issue could not be escaped, resigned themselves to their fate with somewhat of an abject submission. They wrote, professing their loyalty, desiring to continue in their present station; but, were it the royal purpose to dispose otherwise of them, submitting to the royal commands. They even professed their willingness to be united to any other government, with only a humble preference of that over which Andros had been placed. This pliancy had

the effect, whether foreseen or not, of securing to them a very unmerited advantage over Massachusetts. The king contented himself with directing Andros to receive their submission, and did not extort from the courts any legal sentence of forfeiture. When, therefore, the happy era of the Revolution arrived, the charter was not judged to have lost its validity, and was restored to them entire. They continued to enjoy a plenitude of liberty, and an independence on the government at home, which was denied to Massachusetts, solely on account of the spirited stand which she made for these rights.*

Rhode Island, unlike Connecticut, rested its foundation solely on the schisms of Massachusetts, and was peopled by the heretics ejected from that seat of Puritan orthodoxy. Williams was foremost, whose proceedings at Salem the reader probably has not forgotten; and though his treatment was unmerited and unjust, yet Burke and Chalmers seem to go too far in making him suffer merely for advocating the rights of conscience. Whatever might have been his faults at Salem, his conduct at Providence, to which he retired, has been the theme of universal panegyric. The toleration, and, indeed, equality established with regard to all religious professions, Roman Catholics only excepted, was a new feature in that age, and secured an ample influx of refugees. The next band consisted of Mrs Hutchinson, with her train of Antinomian converts; and, notwithstanding

* Chalmers's Annals, ch. xii.

the removal and tragical fate of herself and family, the persecuted adherents to her cause brought a great accession to the colony. The Anabaptists, the Quakers, all the successive suffering sects, found a refuge here. They composed a medley very offensive to the pure eyes of the Boston ministers. Mather describes them as "a generation of libertines, familists, Antinomians, and Quakers, whose posterity, for want of schools and a public ministry, are become so barbarous as not to be capable of either good English or good sense." There does seem to have been, from first to last, rather a want of erudition in the society of Rhode Island; but in other respects they might have taught valuable lessons to these their severe censors; for we read of none of those furious dissensions which kept the Massachusetts colony in a state of such perpetual distraction.

Rhode Island shared nearly the political career of Connecticut. It was left long to govern itself unmolested; and Williams, when he came over to England during the time of the Commonwealth, met the most cordial reception from Cromwell and the other Independent leaders. At the Restoration, also, they were as fortunate as their neighbour in obtaining a very republican constitution, almost entirely independent of the mother country. Yet the state continued always so loyal and even submissive to the government at home as repeatedly to call forth the applause of Charles. All these merits could not shelter it from the determination of James II. to crush every corporate body both at home and abroad. The fatal writ of *quo warranto* was issued; and it was only by a submis-

sion still more abject and implicit than that of Connecticut that they could stop its procedure. They presented an address, in which "they humbly prostrated themselves, their privileges, their all, at the gracious feet of his majesty." The king approved and accepted their submission, attached them to Massachusetts, and sent Andros, who dissolved the government, broke its seal, and assumed the entire administration. When the Revolution came, Rhode Island, like Connecticut, not having lost its charter by legal sentence, was considered as entitled to resume it; and the colony continued thus to enjoy what it scarcely merited,—a more independent government than any other of the American states.*

New Hampshire and Maine, differing wholly in this respect from the rest of New England, were founded upon strictly loyal and church of England principles. These tracts were divided by the Plymouth Company between Sir Ferdinand Gorges and John Mason; of whom Mr Chalmers declares, that no American adventurers were so conspicuous for the energy of their exertions. It does not appear how he reconciles this with the admission made immediately after, that they totally neglected the colony, ruled it in a tyrannical manner, and gave no encouragement to settlers.† It never, therefore, made any progress till it began to be recruited by the religious dissensions at Boston. Mr Wheelwright, the distinguished Antinomian orator, with his adherents, formed the first arrival. They seated them-

* Chalmers's Annals, ch. xii. † Annals, p. 471-4.

selves in the midst of the forest which skirts the banks of the great river Piscataqua, and immediately established a form of church and civil government agreeable to their own views. Being soon mixed, however, with persons of opposite character and religious profession, violent dissensions arose, which stained the early annals of the colony with blood. This afforded to the general court of Massachusetts an opening to extend their pretensions to New Hampshire; the proprietors of which being then eagerly engaged in the civil wars, no opposition was made to the act by which this region was declared to be comprehended within their patent. The regular government which they established, and the encouragement afforded to settlers, enabled the colony soon to reach a degree of prosperity before unknown. A few, also, flying before their severe sway, increased the still scanty population of the outer district of Maine, till Massachusetts, daily extending its views, comprehended that territory also within its range. Gorges and Mason, as soon as they began to breathe from the civil war, were not a little dismayed to find that the whole of their large American possessions had been quietly occupied by a neighbouring state, and by persons whom they hated and despised. Their loud complaints met with very little notice under the Commonwealth, when Massachusetts was favoured and cherished, and they themselves viewed with enmity by the ruling power. On the accession of Charles II. a more favourable ear was afforded, and a commission was sent out, with full power to make a final arrangement. The commission decided in favour of Gorges and Mason; but the general court, holding

the actual possession, contrived, partly by arms, partly by solicitation, and partly by legal proceedings, to keep the question pending for more than seventeen years, though it cost them during that time much more than any benefit derived from the settlement. At length a decision was obtained in favour of Gorges; but the court, still intent on their object, immediately purchased up his claim. The validity of the sale, however, was disputed, and this colony continued still the object of contest and litigation till the fatal era when, Massachusetts being deprived of her charter, her rights upon the countries to the south were considered to have dropped along with it, and she was restricted to her original limits. A royal government was established in New Hampshire, which subsisted to the period of the last revolution. The colony does not seem to have been very deserving of so lengthened a contest, since Mr Chalmers found its public revenue in 1680 to amount only to £131, and a tax of a penny in the pound producing only £89, 4s.

NEW YORK experienced an early destiny materially differing from that of any of the other colonies. For a long period it was Dutch, bearing the title of New Belgium or New Netherlands, having New Amsterdam for its capital. The discovery of this region, and of the noble river by which it is watered, is due to Hudson, the celebrated navigator. Hudson, in 1609, followed almost in the steps of Cabot.* He coasted

* Purchas, iii. 581-95.

the foggy shores of Newfoundland, then, proceeding south, passed Cape Cod, and sailed directly onwards to the grand estuaries of the Chesapeake and the Delaware. Finding these, however, occupied by the English, he retraced his course northwards, and, sailing between Long Island and the main, entered that important river which now bears his name. He admired its spacious stream, and the majestic forests by which it is bordered, and had some communication, though rather hostile, with the natives. On his return, according to the English historians, "he sold his title to the Dutch."* Chalmers questions, seemingly on good grounds, the validity of this odd transaction.† In that difficult code, according to which Europeans divide the world among themselves, the titles seem to be purely national. But if, as Forster asserts, Hudson not only sailed from the Texel, but was equipped at the expense of the Dutch East India Company, there was no room for sale or purchase of any kind to constitute the region Dutch. The English jurists, however, referring to the wide grants of Elizabeth, according to which Virginia extended far to the north of this region, insisted that there had long ceased to be room for any claim to it founded on discovery. But the Dutch, who are somewhat of slow comprehension, could not see the right which Elizabeth could have to bestow a vast region, of the very existence of which she was ignorant. They sent out a small colony, which formed a trading house at the mouth of

* Brit. Emp. ii. 236. † An. ii. 568.

the Hudson. Argal, from Virginia, forced them to own the sovereignty of England; but this was soon forgotten when the Dutch West India Company, established in 1620, sent out fresh colonies on a larger scale. Their trading houses on the island of Manhattan (the present site of New York) soon assumed the importance of a town, defended by a fort, and which became New Amsterdam. They afterwards, at a considerable distance up the river, founded Albany, by which they obtained extensive facilities for the fur-trade, and opened a communication with the celebrated confederacy of the Five Nations. The claims of England, however, though they slumbered, were not forgotten. Charles II., inspired by rooted antipathy against the Dutch nation, granted this territory to his brother, the Duke of York. To make this grant effectual, an expedition of three hundred men was immediately despatched, and in September, 1664, anchored in the harbour of Manhattan. Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, appears to have been wholly unprepared for such an attack, and, indeed, to have been more distinguished for the acts of good government, than for military prowess. After a short and courteous parley, he surrendered the place,—an example which was soon followed by the rest of the colony. The Dutch obtained the most liberal terms, full protection for person and property, and the free exercise of their religion. The greater part remained, and some of the principal inhabitants of New York still bear Dutch names. In the course, however, of the long naval war between England and Holland, the States sent an expedition, which, finding the go-

vernor absent, and the place wholly unprepared, entered it in the same polite and easy manner as was formerly done by the English. The transaction in both cases resembled rather that of a new governor coming to assume his functions, than a victory achieved by a hostile power. Most of the English settlers having ample protection granted to them, remained in the colony; and the issue of the war being on the whole prosperous to England, New Belgium, at the peace, became again New York. James, imbued with the deepest principles of arbitrary power, sent out governors, who were instructed to rule by his sole authority. This was felt very grievous by the citizens, who had a full sense of their rights as Englishmen; in assertion of which they proceeded to a most daring attempt. They sent home Dyer, the collector of the revenue, under a charge of high treason, as having attempted to levy taxes without authority of law. James took care that Dyer, whose acts had been his own, should be forthwith acquitted; but so strongly was he impressed by this bold measure of his transatlantic subjects, that, after some hesitation, he made up his mind to give them some form of representation. In 1682, Mr Dongan was sent out to form a council of ten, and a house of representatives of eighteen members. Dongan went under the odious character of a Papist, yet his integrity, moderation, and courteous manners, made him beloved and acceptable. Two meetings, and only two, were held of this assembly. James ere long repented of this extraordinary liberality. He determined, on coming to the crown, that, in the general sweep which he was making of all charter-

governments, New York should not be exempted. Instructions were sent out to Dongan to make laws and impose taxes, under the sole authority of the monarch. The humiliation of New York was not yet completed. It was soon after, with the other northern states, annexed to Massachusetts; Dongan, its mild and conciliatory governor, was recalled, and it was placed under the domineering sway of Andros. Unable to resist, the colonists bent under the iron yoke of necessity, and did not suffer any very grievous positive oppression. When, however, rumours began to arrive of the happy Revolution of 1688, a strong impulse actuated their minds. Even before the arrival of the official intelligence, the inhabitants, under a mercantile character of the name of Leister, rose in arms, proclaimed William, and assembled a representative body. Leister assumed the functions of governor, and was very readily acknowledged as such. This assumption was not confirmed by William, who sent out a Colonel Slaughter to fill that place. Leister, however, alleging some informality in the terms of his appointment, refused to relinquish his station; but being soon overcome, he was tried and executed,—seemingly a hard sentence against one who had rendered such services. Accordingly the British parliament soon afterwards reversed his attainder, and his estates were restored to his family.*

The population and resources of New York, though in a state of gradual increase, being still very inade-

* Chalmers, ch. xix. Brit. Emp. Amer. i. 243.

quate to its situation and natural resources, parliament was employed in considering the means of forwarding its growth. The chief measure taken for this purpose was the transportation of three thousand German Protestants, called Palatines, who not only had lands assigned to them, but were conveyed, clothed, and subsisted for three years. The entire cost of this transportation amounted to £78,533; which, however, amid the ferments of party, was declared by a subsequent vote of parliament to be not only an extravagant and unreasonable charge to the kingdom, but of "dangerous consequence to the church." These sober and laborious colonists, however, being settled on the banks of the Hudson, proved of the greatest service to the colony, and laid the basis of a most useful part of its future population.*

The English of New York, in ascending the Hudson, came into contact with the grand savage confederacy of the Five Nations, which extended along the southern shore of the St Lawrence and the lakes. The relations between the two parties were in general those of friendship, and even of close alliance, cemented by mutual fear and hatred of the French. That people, when they occupied Canada, having undertaken to support their immediate neighbours, the Hurons and Algonquins, involved themselves in war with the Iroquois, in which they suffered severely, and spent more than a century before they could break the force of that great Indian league. The Five Nations, during this long contest for their existence, repeatedly

* Brit. Emp. Am. i. 249-50.

applied for and obtained the aid of Britain, particularly in muskets and ammunition. In 1710, Alnecy-cathtonnopron, Ganajohabare, and three other princes, came across "the great lake" to wait upon the queen, and solicit her alliance. It was a great question in what costume these chieftains were to appear at court. Application was made, not very judiciously, to the manager of the theatre, who undertook the clothing of the monarchs; but, with very bad taste, instead of presenting them plumed and painted in the Indian war-dress, habited them in waistcoat, breeches, and stockings, above which he drew a scarlet mantle trimmed with gold. Major Pigeon, who came over with them, interpreted their speech, which bore, that their great queen had been acquainted with the long war, which, in conjunction with her children, they had waged against her enemies the French; during which they had been to her subjects a wall of security, even to the loss of their best warriors. As soon as they heard that their queen was preparing to send an army into Canada, they put on the kettle, and took up the hatchet, and were very sorrowful when they learned there was any hesitation in putting this laudable design in execution. They presented belts of wampum, in token of strict alliance, and of their readiness to co-operate in any such glorious undertaking. Accordingly, in 1711, when a combined naval and military expedition was undertaken against Canada, they afforded an active though fruitless co-operation in that unfortunate and inglorious enterprise.

NEW JERSEY was a mere offset to New York, to

which it naturally belonged. The Duke of York, on sending out Nicholas to make his grant of the latter territory effectual by conquering it, assigned to Lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret, already proprietors of Carolina, all the coast extending south to the Delaware and into the interior. These proprietors appear to have founded New Jersey on a very liberal and satisfactory footing, allowing to it an assembly, which had the power of making laws and imposing or rejecting taxes. When, however, New York had been conquered by the Dutch, and afterwards recovered, the Duke contended, that, by these transactions, the grant, and the privileges conferred in consequence, had been annulled, and he subjected New Jersey to the same arbitrary system of rule which he had established over New York. From this tyranny, and especially from the right of arbitrary taxation, the colonists had the courage to appeal to the government at home; and their representations were so forcible, that the Duke at last agreed to refer the question to Sir William Jones, who, by his legal eminence and integrity, rendered the name he bore already honourable. He threw additional lustre upon it by the sentence which he pronounced, that "the inhabitants claim under a grant from his Royal Highness, in which grant there is no reservation of any profit, or so much as jurisdiction."—"I am not satisfied," says he, "that the Duke can demand that or any other duty from the inhabitants of those lands." The Duke having gone too far to recede, was fain to acquiesce with the best grace he could; and the privileges thus extorted by the Jerseys are supposed to have been one chief motive

of his liberality to New York, lest it should be deserted in consequence of the more favoured state of the former colony. The time soon came, however, when all these barriers were to be broken down. When James ascended the throne, he would brook no more of New Jersey independence. By the usual process of *quo warranto*, that province was deprived of its constitution and all its rights, and annexed as an humble appendage to New England. When these chains were broken by the accession of William, New Jersey became agitated by a number of conflicting claims to its government, involving it for ten years in what were emphatically termed "the revolutions," and which prevented it from enjoying those benefits which it had a right to expect. The English government even endeavoured to subject it to New York; but Sir John Hawles and Sir Creswell Levinz gave a concurrent opinion in favour of the rights of their own assembly. On the whole, the progress of New Jersey was slow. It was reckoned that, in the beginning of last century, it did not consume above £1000 of British manufactures, nor receive more than three ships annually into its ports. It was overshadowed by the greater lustre and importance, first, of New York on one side, and then of Pennsylvania on the other. Its natural advantages, however, enabled it to proceed thenceforth in a course of steady, though not rapid progress.

MARYLAND was founded on a different basis from any of the other colonies, and formed, in some respects, an antipode to New England. The Catholics in those days were not only persecutors, but in some degree

the objects of persecution; and Charles I., though willing, was not always able to protect them against the severe laws, inspired by fear, which had been enacted against them under Elizabeth. Some of the leading members conceived the idea of creating for them an asylum in the new world. Lord Baltimore, an Irish nobleman of distinction, who stood at the head of the Catholic body, easily obtained from Charles a grant of that angle of Virginia which lies on both sides of the interior Chesapeake,—a tract equally happy in soil and climate, and commodious for commerce. The name of Maryland was given to it in honour of Henrietta Maria, Charles's beautiful queen, to whose intercession the adventurers were doubtless greatly indebted. An expedition of two hundred persons, many of whom were Catholics of good family, was fitted out, and placed under the guidance of Lord Baltimore's brother, Mr Calvert. He carried out letters to the governor of Virginia, by whom he was kindly received and forwarded. On arriving at the upper part of the Chesapeake, he used all his efforts to place himself on a friendly footing with the Indians. The first Werrowannee merely said, "I will not bid you stay, neither will I bid you go; you may use your discretion." Shortly, however, by presents, feasting, and kindness, he so gained their affections, that one of the princes, in a profuse style of compliment, said, "Were the English to kill me, I would tell my subjects not to revenge my death, for I would be sure it had been my own fault." The natives were even induced, with little difficulty, to relinquish their village, with the

cleared ground round it, to the new-comers, and to remove to another spot. The Calverts gained great credit by their sway over Maryland. They established a complete freedom of religious worship; and Maryland became the resort, not only of Catholics, but of members of the church of England, flying partly from the Puritan-persecutions of New England, partly from those adversities which they afterwards experienced in the mother country. The proprietor, as his religion began to flourish under the secret support of the crown, seems to have abated a good deal of that wise moderation which had hitherto secured the prosperity of the colony. Even after the population amounted to sixteen thousand, of whom by far the greater number belonged to the church of England, there were only three clergymen of that persuasion, very slenderly endowed; while ample provisions of land had been set aside for the Catholic priests. It was in consequence represented to the heads of the English church, that the spiritual state of Maryland was deplorable for want of a public ministry; that religion was openly despised, and a general profligacy of manners prevailed. Lord Baltimore, however, strenuously and successfully resisted every proposition for an establishment. At the Revolution, the inhabitants of Maryland rose against the Baltimores with equal zeal as those of New England against Andros. They published a "declaration of their motives for appearing in arms," the allegations of which Mr Chalmers condemns as equally frivolous and unjust; but, unless the latter term could be applied to them, I do not see how the former could. They complain of his Lordship "de-

claring the best of the laws void by proclamation, though assented to in his name by the governor; of a law which punished all speeches against his Lordship's government, that should be thought mutinous by the provincial court, with imprisonment, boring the tongue, whipping, banishment, or death; seizing Protestants in their houses with armed Papists, and detaining them long without trial; private murders and public outrages, committed by Papists upon Protestants without redress, but are connived at by men in chief authority, who are governed by Jesuits." These statements, if they involved any measure of truth, were certainly far from frivolous, and fully justified William in assuming the entire government into his own hands, leaving to the Baltimore family only the produce of some local taxes, which had been personally appropriated to them.*

CAROLINA was settled at a later period, and on considerably other bases than the states hitherto described. It vibrated between the names of Virginia and Florida; but Florida was a tragic sound, guarded by those terrors which the Spanish claim, so fiercely and dreadfully enforced, drew around it. Virginia, as to its southern quarter, and especially the bay and river of Roanoke, recalled the signal disasters which had befallen Greenville and Lane in their attempts to settle it under the auspices of Raleigh. Only a small body, ejected by the interior agitations of New England, had formed a settlement round Cape Fear,

* Chalmers, ch. xv. Brit. Emp. Am. i. 323-35.

and a few from Virginia, spreading themselves in search of unoccupied land, had composed the outer country of Albemarle. After the Restoration, however, the active spirit which had been created by so long a train of civil contest, finding no longer scope at home, produced an impulse in favour of foreign and colonial adventure. Charles found, in kingdoms created by a stroke of his pen, the means of satisfying some of the vast claims made on his not very ample stock of gratitude. The Duke of Albemarle, (the immediate instrument of his restoration,) the Earl of Clarendon, (the firmest friend of his father,) Lord Berkeley, Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, and a few others, were created absolute lords of the province dignified with the regal title of CAROLINA. Settlers were studiously drawn from various quarters. A considerable number of planters in Barbadoes, having taken some disgust at their situation there, came and settled in the vicinity of Cape Fear. Recruits were drawn from Virginia and other colonies, where the lands along the coast were now in a great measure filled up. Emigrants were invited from all the three kingdoms, and a numerous class were allured by an immunity, which secured the settlers for five years against any prosecution for debt contracted previous to their arrival. At the same time a liberal constitution was granted, composed of a governor, a house of assembly, and a council appointed partly by the one and partly by the other.*

* Chalmers, p. 525.

The proprietors were not content, though the colonists were, with all that had been thus done for the well-being of Carolina. They determined that its constitution should have something exquisite and peculiar, which might distinguish it above every one previously framed. With this view they prevailed upon Locke, the greatest philosopher of the age, to draw up what were called "The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina." This plan, which appeared laudable and promising, had not, however, any success. Locke was undoubtedly well acquainted with human nature, and not ignorant of the world; but he had not taken a sufficiently comprehensive view of the history of man, nor were political speculators yet duly aware of the necessity of adapting constitutions to those for which they were destined. The grand peculiarity consisted in forming a high and titled nobility, which might rival the splendour of those of the old world. But as the Dukes and Earls of England would have considered their titles degraded by being shared with a Carolina planter, other titles of foreign origin were adopted. That of Landgrave was drawn from Germany, and of Cacique from the native Indians. But these princely denominations, applied to persons who were to earn their bread by the labour of their hands, could confer no real dignity. The reverence for nobility, which can only be the result of long-continued wealth and influence, could never be inspired by mere titles, especially of such an exotic and fantastic character. These high nobles met with the deputies in a parliament, where, however, the council, like the Scottish

Lords of Articles, had the sole power of proposing every new law. The whole was made subject to a palatine court in England, composed of the whole proprietors; at the head of which was placed a functionary, bearing the title of Palatine, and invested with almost supreme power. The sanction of negro slavery was also a deep blot in this boasted system. The colonists, who felt perfectly at ease under their rude early regulations, were struck with dismay at the arrival of this philosophical fabric of polity. They declared, that whatever might be its intrinsic merits, it was in their circumstances altogether unsuitable and even impracticable; that they had among them no materials out of which Landgraves and Caciques could be framed; and that the whole was an invasion of the original rights granted at their establishment, and on the faith of which they had come to America. A compromise was made, by which only so much of these grand constitutions as the colonists felt applicable to them were at first introduced, and the rest were reserved till their minds should be enlarged to comprehend their value. It was insisted, however, that there should be some Landgraves and some Caciques; but these great nobles never struck any root in the western soil, and have long since disappeared. Locke himself was created a Landgrave; but without deriving from such a title any lustre additional to that which his writings conferred upon him.*

* Histor. Account of the Colon. of South Carolina and Georgia, (London, 1779,) i. 44-6. Chalmers, p. 526.

Carolina advanced for a long time languidly and with difficulty. The colonists were exempt indeed from those dissensions which were generated by the rigid sectarian tenets of the New England church; but they laboured under a much deeper evil, in the want of any fixed principles whatever, religious or moral, and of that steadiness and energy of action which usually accompany them. These gay cavaliers, or "ill-livers," as Archdall calls them,* understood much better how to spend than how to earn an income. So long as they were maintained at the expense of the proprietors, which was continued to the utmost reasonable period, matters went on tolerably; but when the latter began to intimate an expectation that some instalments should begin to be paid of their long and large advances, they were answered only by the most urgent entreaty for farther supplies. They complied at first, and even repeatedly; but, as the same result always followed, they at last declared that they could incur no more desperate debts, and that the colonists must now draw upon their own resources. They had recourse, hereupon, to every idle and iniquitous mode of raising funds. They hunted down the Indians on every side, and sold their hapless victims as slaves to the West India planters. They converted their ports into dens of pirates. Yet all these expedients did not preserve them from a squalid poverty, which the pompous titles of Landgrave and Cacique rendered

* Brit. Emp. i. 467.

only more conspicuous and humiliating. They were cursed, moreover, with a series of governors of their own stamp, and whose continual change prevented any stable system, or any tie between rulers and subjects. Of all these scourges, none was so dreadful as Seth Sothel. Mr Chalmers does not hesitate to make the very bold assertion, that the annals of delegated authority do not present a name so branded with merited infamy, and that there never had taken place such an accumulation of extortion, injustice, and rapacity, as during the five years that he misruled the colony. He had been made prisoner in his way out, and kept in close captivity at Algiers, where he took, it appears, not warning, but lessons. At length the enraged inhabitants rose, seized the governor, and were dissuaded from their intention of sending him home to England only by his solemn agreement to renounce the government, and for some time the colony. He made afterwards an attempt, with some temporary success, to resume his place; but, after this and some other vicissitudes, the inhabitants earnestly implored that the fine-spun and elaborate constitutions to which they imputed, perhaps unjustly, the sufferings of so many years, should be wholly withdrawn, and they should be placed again under their plain original charter.*

From this time Carolina began to improve, less, perhaps, from the overthrow of her famous fundamental constitutions, than from the flowing in of a

* Chalmers, p. 539-52.

new and better population. The principle of religious freedom had been made the basis both of the charter and the fundamental constitutions, and, amid all their evils, had been preserved entire to the people of Carolina. Although, therefore, any little religion which the first settlers brought with them consisted in a somewhat vehement zeal for the English church, the country was perfectly open to sectaries of every denomination. Many, driven by persecution from New England, or finding the best lands of that country occupied, repaired to Carolina, and got into their hands almost the whole trade of that province. Here, also, the English Puritans, exposed under Charles II. to a persecution as severe as ever, sought refuge. They soon became as numerous, more substantial, and more wealthy, than any other part of the community. This prosperity was viewed with a very evil eye by the original settlers, who saw themselves thus eclipsed by a body whom they alike despised and hated. Covering this jealousy under a pretext of zeal for the church, they contrived, by the most violent measures, to pack an assembly, in which, by a majority of one, they carried a law excluding all dissenters from it, and from every office of trust and profit under government. They even passed another for deposing the dissenting clergy, and appropriating their churches to the English form of worship. Of these devout churchmen, most, it is stated, had never partaken of the sacrament either in their own or any other communion, and led the most dissolute lives. There is quoted of Governor Moor, one of their chief leaders, a commission to Anthony Dodsworth and others, "to

set upon, assault, kill, destroy, and take as many Indians as they possibly could." The British parliament listened to the heavy complaints sent home by the suffering party. On the 12th March, 1705, they voted an address to the queen, bearing, that these laws were contrary to the charter granted to the colony, and the laws of England; that they were destructive to trade, and tended to depopulate and ruin the province. This address was referred to a committee of the Lords of Trade;* who thereupon reported, that the proprietors, in sanctioning such laws, had been guilty of an abuse of the power granted by their charter, which involved its forfeiture. They humbly submitted, therefore, that her majesty should take the same into her own hands. Yet this recommendation was not immediately followed, nor was any thing effectual done for the relief of the Carolineans till 1721, when the people rose in insurrection, established a provisional government, and entreated the king to take the government into his own hands. George I. acquiesced; and in a few years after the colony was secured to the public, by purchase from the proprietors, for about the sum of twenty thousand pounds.†

We shall here introduce the account of a colony detached from Carolina, and naturally connected with it, though its origin was later than that of Pennsylvania, which yet remains to be mentioned. The territory to the south of the Savannah, more remote from

* British Emp. 487-9. † Histor. Account, &c., i. 255-321.

the other settlements, and in a somewhat debateable state in relation to Spain, had remained still unoccupied. In 1732, the usual pressure in regard to subsistence being felt at home, a scheme was formed for relieving the mother country, by leading out a colony to this new region, which, in honour of the reigning monarch, was called GEORGIA. Twenty-three trustees were appointed, among whom were the Earl of Shaftesbury, Lords Percival, Tyrconnel, and Limerick, and a number of gentlemen of good family. It was announced as a charitable object, to which parliament contributed ten thousand pounds, and collections were made in various parts of the kingdom. A sum of fifteen thousand pounds was placed at the disposal of the trustees, who employed it in transporting 370 British and 115 foreigners; besides which 127 persons went over at their own expense. The colony, having to apprehend attacks from various quarters, was established on quite a military basis.* Each planter, along with his plough and his spade, was bound to provide musket and shot, and lands were granted as military fiefs, on the condition of taking the field whenever an enemy should approach the frontiers. As the inhabitants of the English towns, however, were not found likely to prove very mighty warriors, a body of 130 Highlanders were drawn from Inverness, and several bands of old German soldiers were also induced to embark. Amid these preparations, Mr Oglethorpe, a person of much mildness and

* Brit. Emp. Amer. i. 526. Historical Account of Carolina and Georgia, ii. 42-45.

discretion, made it his primary object to conciliate the Indian nations. Those who immediately bordered on Georgia were the different tribes of the Upper and Lower Creeks. Through the medium of an Indian female of some distinction, who had married a Carolinean trader, he was able to negotiate a general congress at Savannah. Yahoulakee, Tatchi-quatchi, Essaboo, and nearly fifty other great war-kings and captains attended. Mr Oglethorpe presented to each a laced coat and hat, and a shirt, and, representing to them the instruction and the wealth which they and their subjects might derive from intercourse with the English, proposed that they should cede some part of that immense territory which was lying at present waste. The Indians came prepared upon this subject, and Oueeka-chumpa, their spokesman, advanced and presented a buffalo's skin, adorned on the inside with the head and feathers of an eagle. This was a type of the English, who were swift as the eagle and strong as the buffalo, and, like the former, flew over vast seas to the uttermost ends of the earth. He, however, who gave the English breath had given the Indians breath also, though he had bestowed more wisdom on white men. They were persuaded that the great power which dwelt in Heaven, which had given breath to all men, had sent the English for the instruction of them, their wives, and children. They therefore freely gave them the lands which they did not use themselves. This was not only their own opinion, but the opinion of all the eight towns of the Creeks. Tomichichi, the chief or king, and who lived nearest to the settlement, was

prevailed upon to come over to London, and being duly equipped, was introduced into the king's presence. He said, "This day I see the majesty of your face, the greatness of your house, and the number of your people. I am come in my old days, not expecting to see any advantage to myself, but for the good of the children of all the nations of the Lower and Upper Creeks. These are feathers of the eagle, which are a sign of peace in our land. We have brought them over to leave them with you, oh great king! as a token of everlasting peace. O great king! whatever words you shall say unto me, I will faithfully tell them to all the kings of the Creek nation." The king made a gracious and suitable answer; and the chief, with his attendants, after being feasted by the principal nobility, returned to America loaded with presents.

The progress of the colony was slow, being fettered by regulations enacted by the trustees from the best motives, but which were alleged to be unsuitable to the infant circumstances of the colony. The importation and use of negroes were prohibited; no rum was allowed to be introduced, and no one was permitted to trade with the Indians without special license. The colonists complained, that without negroes it was impossible to clear the grounds and cut down the thick forests; though the honest Highlanders always reprobated the practice, and denied any necessity to exist for it. The rum was the object for which they could most readily have exchanged their surplus produce; and the moderate use of which, in this hot and humid climate, was almost

essential to health. The prohibition of trade with the Indians excluded them from an easy mode of improving their fortune. The misfortune was, that by passing the Savannah, they found themselves in Carolina, delivered from all these shackles, and no want of land besides. The province was, moreover, exposed to continual threats and fear of invasion from the Spaniards, who never abated any thing of their original pretensions to the whole of this range of territory. It never enjoyed solid peace or prosperity, therefore, till the treaty of 1763, when, at the close of a triumphant war, Britain obtained the cession of the whole states and settlements on this line of coast, including Canada on one side and Florida on the other. From that time, both Carolina and Georgia, being freed from all apprehension of a foreign enemy, and enriched by the copious employment of British capital, advanced with uninterrupted steps in the career of improvement.

There remained yet one state, which (except Georgia) was the latest in its origin, but which, begun under purer auspices, made a more rapid progress than any of the other colonies. We have seen the excesses into which the early Quakers were betrayed by their fervid zeal and pretensions to immediate inspiration. These had rendered them sometimes justly amenable to the guardians of public order, though not to the dreadful extent in which their offences were actually visited. But, when a little time had cooled this extreme fervour, and they came under the guidance

of men of information and enlarged views, they attracted just admiration by the mild and steady course with which they proceeded in the career of useful and philanthropic exertion. No Quaker name shines so bright as that of Penn. He was the son of a vice-admiral of that name, who distinguished himself in an expedition to the West Indies. Young Penn became imbued at college with the new opinions, and joined with several of his fellow-students in manifesting them, by seizing the surplices of the clergy, and tearing them over their heads. He soon renounced, however, such irregular modes of testifying his faith, and became the strenuous advocate of unlimited freedom of sentiment and worship. The Spirit, however, moved him at sundry times to address the public in the streets and highways,—an offence which, in that age of persecution, when religious zeal was identified with disloyalty, exposed him to violent legal persecution. The first proceeding was before the Lord Mayor and Recorder, for simply preaching in the street. The tenor of it gives a truly dismal picture of the manner in which British justice was then administered. The indictment was laid, that "William Penn, by agreement between him and William Mead, before made, and, betwixt the aforesaid William Mead and other persons, did take on him to preach and speak, and then and there did preach and speak unto the aforesaid William Mead and other persons then in the street aforesaid." The jury, after a short consultation, brought in William Mead not guilty,—William Penn guilty of speaking

only. The enraged Recorder now addressed them in the following *constitutional* terms:—"Gentlemen, you shall not be dismissed till we have a verdict that the court will accept; and you shall be locked up without meat, drink, fire, or tobacco. You shall not think thus to abuse the court; we will have a verdict, or you shall starve for it." This threat was accordingly fulfilled, and they were locked up under all the above privations, being denied even the needful accommodation of a chamber-pot; but, under all this tyranny, their true British spirit only rose higher, and they brought in a decided sentence of "Not guilty." The Recorder iniquitously fined them in forty merks, sending them to prison till it was paid; but he did not venture to proceed against Penn without their sentence, further than merely to inflict a short confinement, as a penalty for keeping on his hat.* As he continued, however, to pour forth the dictates of supposed inspiration in the same modes and places, he was exposed to a continued series of legal proceedure, nor did he find protection under the parental roof. The admiral submitted, as the only terms on which his favour could be continued, the very moderate proposition, that he should take off his hat to himself, to the King, and to the Duke of York. But the young Quaker declaring, that his conscience absolutely interdicted him from "hat-worship" in any shape, he received a box on the ear, and was turned out of doors. Yet the sober mildness of his demeanour and his practical

* Penn's Works, i. p. 15.

wisdom enabled him gradually to triumph over all these hostile feelings. His father became cordially reconciled, and left him the whole of his pretty ample property; and he was even allowed to plead before parliament the cause of his persecuted brethren.

The attention of Penn was first drawn to America by being employed as a trustee upon the estate of one of his fellow-religionists, who had obtained an extensive grant there, but whose affairs had become involved. He was thus instrumental in embarking for the new world a number of his suffering fellow-Quakers. Having his attention drawn towards this object, he conceived the idea of prosecuting it on a greater scale. He happened, through his father, to have claims upon the government to the extent of £16,000; and as Charles, with an exhausted exchequer, found great difficulty to pay, in the ordinary manner, a debt very considerable in those days, he very gladly embraced the alternative of clearing it with a stroke of the pen, by the assignment of a large extent of territory in the new world. Penn became thus proprietary of the region called after him PENNSYLVANIA, a large expanse of inland territory, partly detached from New York and New Jersey, and partly from Maryland. It was included between the 40th and 43d degree of latitude, and bounded on the east by the river Delaware. Penn diligently applied himself to form a constitution for the new state, of which he was to be the founder. He created one, in which the rights and security of the people were better provided for than in any other, even of the very liberal constitutions given to America.* The most complete freedom was

allowed to every religious profession, and several institutions peculiar to itself were formed, with a view to the promotion of peace and beneficence. There was a nomination in every county-court of three peacemakers, to terminate in an amicable manner the differences between man and man, and twice a-year there was held in every county an orphans' court, to inspect the affairs of widows and orphans.† His transactions with the Indians threw peculiar lustre on the legislation of Penn, and in an especial manner secured the tranquillity and welfare of the colony. In the course of the following year, 1681, commissioners went round the different tribes to treat with them for the purchase of a part of their lands, which they, who did not occupy a hundredth part of the vast extent possessed by them, could spare without any sensible loss. The arrangements being nearly completed before the arrival of Penn in the following year, a general meeting of the chiefs was appointed beneath the shade of a prodigious elm-tree, which grew near the present site of Philadelphia. On the day fixed, the Indians, with their dark visages, rude attire, and brandished weapons, appeared in the depth of the thick woods which then covered that now fine and cultivated plain. As the approach of the English was announced, they laid down their weapons, and seated themselves in groups, each behind their own chieftain. Penn then advanced with a few attendants, unarmed, in his usual plain dress, holding in his hand a roll of

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* Chalmers, 642.

† Br. Emp. Amer. i. 311-12.

parchment, on which were engrossed the terms of the treaty. He addressed them in a simple speech, laying down the principles of amity and equity, by which he proposed that all the transactions between them should be guided. He begged that they might keep the parchment for three generations, and show it to their children as a memorial of what had passed on this day. The Indians, as usual, made long figurative speeches, the substance of which was, that they would live in peace with William Penn and his children as long as the sun and moon should endure.* It is by no means rare that the intercourse between civilized and savage nations should open in this courteous and auspicious manner; but it is seldom indeed that the harmony is not soon broken, and even that it is not followed by an imbittered hostility. Such was in no degree the case in the present instance. Penn continued to maintain with the Indians, not only peace, but an intimate union; he visited them in their villages, he slept in their wigwams; he was received by them as a brother, a son. Even after his departure, the colonists trod still in his steps; and the Indian tomahawk was never lifted against a race which would have considered it unlawful to return the blow. Although the price was satisfactory to the Indians, it was scarcely felt by the English.† Twenty miles of territory were bought for what would have been the price of one highly-cultivated acre in the mother country. Even after experience

* Edin. Review, xxi. 489. † Br. Emp. Am. i. 310-11.

of the demand had taught the Indians to raise it ten times higher, years elapsed, ere, instead of the mile, it began to be sold by the acre.

The growth of Pennsylvania was rapid in an unexampled degree. Besides the great body who preceded Penn, he brought out two thousand with himself, of a useful and respectable stamp, and could boast, with some reason, that it was made a country at once. The historian of Carolina complains, that it obtained favour, as a young beauty eclipses her more advanced rivals, rather than from any more substantial reason. But this young maiden possessed many solid and genuine attractions to justify the partial regard of her admirers. The orderly freedom which reigned, the absence of all persecution, and the perpetual peace with the Indians, who formed the scourge of the other colonies, rendered their situation much more comfortable than any other settlement. Emigration took place on a greater scale than at any former period. In 1729 the emigrants amounted to 6208, the greater part of whom were Irish. Thus Pennsylvania, though of an origin so recent, soon equalled all, and surpassed most of the earliest founded and most prosperous colonies.

NOVA SCOTIA, as has already appeared, was a subject of almost perpetual debate between the French and English governments. The former had early settled, and conferred on it the title of Acadia, while their rivals still held it as a portion of New England. Following up this view of the subject, James I., in 1621, granted the southern part of it to Sir William Alex-

ander, and a few years after the northern part to Sir David Kirk, for the purpose of leading over Scottish colonies. Sir William, in the following year, sent out a vessel, which was obliged to winter in Newfoundland; but being re-enforced next season by another ship, it sailed, and took a pretty extensive survey of the coast. The Scotch found several very commodious harbours, and on ascending the rivers, came to "very delicate meadows, having roses, white and red, growing thereon, with a kind of wild lily, which had a very dainty smell." They found also a profusion of gooseberries, strawberries, and berries of various other kinds. There grew also naturally a profusion of large pease ("but taste of the fitch,") and they even assert that they saw growing wild detached ears of wheat and barley. They made up, therefore, a very favourable report;* at present, however, they merely carried it home, without any immediate attempt to form a settlement. When Purchas wrote there was an intention of sending out a colony next spring, which does not, however, seem to have been ever fulfilled. Sir David Kirk sold his patent to the French king for £5000, which is, however, alleged never to have been paid.† Sir William (afterwards Lord Stirling) sold his share likewise to Seigneur de la Tour, a Protestant lord of the house of Bouillon. Both under Oliver Cromwell and William III. successful expeditions were sent against this settlement; yet, somehow or other, the French are always found again in pos-

* Purchas, iv. 1873.

† Brit. Emp. Amer. i. 32.

session of it. It was not till the treaty of Utrecht, in 1716, that Nova Scotia was finally ceded to Great Britain, the French only retaining the island of Cape Breton,—extremely commodious for their fishery, and affording them an entry into the river of St Lawrence.

CHAPTER VII.

SETTLEMENT OF THE FRENCH IN CANADA AND LOUISIANA.

Plan of Colonizing Canada.—La Roche.—Disastrous Issue.—De Monts,—Champlain,—Marquette, and Jolyet.—Hennepin.—Lahontan.—Charlevoix.

WHILE the English were founding along the American coast the most flourishing and prosperous colonies of the new world, the French were busily pursuing a different career. They were penetrating into the immense northern interior of America, ascending and descending those mighty rivers, and coasting the shores of those boundless lakes, which seem to convey to its most inland depths the character and the benefits of a maritime region. The heads of the French mission, both political and religious, engaged in this career, displayed really very great enterprise and address, and effected extensive discoveries with much less disaster than might have been expected to attend so new a line of discovery, beset with such great and singular perils.

The river St Lawrence, and generally the more northern tracts of America, formed the quarter to

which the French directed their special attention. The transactions in Florida, however in some respects glorious, were of too tragic a character, and the pretensions of Spain on that side too formidable, to make any farther attempts be felt as safe or eligible. The naval energies of England, and the tide of emigration produced by her religious dissensions, had enabled her to preoccupy all the middle regions of the continent. The early discoveries of Cartier had turned the eyes of France towards the St Lawrence, and established her claim to it according to that peculiar code by which Europeans have chosen to apportion among themselves the rest of mankind. Although CANADA had scarcely any measure of the smiling and luxuriant aspect of Florida, or even of Virginia, yet it opened into regions of vast extent; and the tracing to its distant fountains this sea-like abyss of waters presented more than common attraction to curiosity and adventure.

At this time, the only mode in which it was conceived that the regions of the newly-discovered world could be peopled, was by sovereign and exclusive companies. In fact, when we consider the perilous and doubtful character of those early adventures,—that fleets were to be equipped, towns built, wastes cultivated, and too probably war waged,—a much more than ordinary temptation was required. The want of rivalry, however, could not fail, according to universal experience, to have a most paralyzing effect on the energies of these companies. They, indeed, were likely to be bold and adventurous spirits who sought to range in such a sphere; yet favour rather than

merit formed too often the principles upon which the selection was made.

The first who, after the long interval which had now elapsed, undertook to colonize these northern regions, was a bold Breton, of good family, named *De la Roche.* He obtained from Henry IV. a patent of the same extensive character as those granted in England to Gilbert and Raleigh. He received the title of Lieutenant-General for the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, Newfoundland, Labrador, the river of the great bay (St Lawrence) Norimbega, and all the lands adjacent. He was to have the supreme command, both civil and military, and no one was to be permitted to trade, unless under his sanction. The King of France stipulated for himself absolutely nothing, not even that invariable article, a fifth part of the gold; but rumour had never ascribed to Canada this darling representative of wealth.

La Roche, in 1598, set out to take possession of the vast domain thus lavishly bestowed on him. So little ardour, however, did the nation feel, that he was obliged to draw upon the jails for a great proportion of the sailors. After a not unprosperous voyage, he reached Sable Island, near the coast of Nova Scotia, where he landed a party of his ill-conditioned crew. The choice is censured, this island being a mere collection of sand-hillocks, with only a few scattered shrubs, and the interior filled with a large lake or pond. La Roche, however, was groping in the dark, and might think his party better secured here than on the continent against the hostility of the natives. He proceeded, and made a survey of the opposite coast of Nova Sco-

tia, and then returned to France, with the view of obtaining fresh recruits and supplies. Arriving in Britany, he incurred the enmity of the Duke de Mercoeur, whose power in that province was still almost sovereign, and who so far prepossessed the King, that De la Roche was deprived of the means of carrying his enterprise farther. The chagrin of this disappointment brought him to the grave. No one, mean time, concerned himself about the unfortunate expedition left at Sable Island, which was soon reduced to the utmost misery. From the planks of a shipwrecked Spanish vessel they formed to themselves some sort of shelter from the severity of the climate. Having soon consumed their scanty stock of provisions, they were reduced to a diet purely of fish; and as their clothes fell to rags, were obliged to recruit them by sewing together the skins of sea-wolves. At length some one put Henry in mind of the existence of this unhappy colony, and that no one had any idea of what had become of them. That humane prince instantly sent out a vessel to relieve whatever of its hapless remnant might still be found. Twelve only survived, who were brought home, and, with their shaggy and uncouth aspect, their dress of fish-skins, and their hair and beard grown to an enormous length, so moved that prince, that he granted a pardon for all their past offences, and dismissed each with a present of fifty crowns.*

This was no very encouraging outset; and for se-

* His. Gen. des Voyages, xiv. 589-91.

veral years nothing was attempted beyond a traffic in furs, which proved very profitable. Chauvin and Pontgrave, two of the principal fur-merchants, made even some faint attempts to settle a colony, which were seconded by a company formed at Dieppe, yet proved abortive.

A more splendid and vigorous attempt was made by *De Monts*, a gentleman of Saintonge, and a Calvinist. He was invested by the court with the same extensive and exclusive rights so lavishly bestowed on all who would engage in the arduous career of transatlantic adventure. He even obtained free permission to exercise his own religion; oddly combined, however, with an engagement to initiate the savages in the mysteries of pure Catholicism. He equipped an expedition really on a large scale, comprising no less than forty vessels. His commission extended from the fortieth to the fifty-fourth degree of north latitude, including thus the whole of New England not yet occupied by any other potentate. De Monts, with his officers, spent a long time in surveying the coast as far as Cape Cod, without well knowing where to fix; and he is supposed not in the end to have made a happy choice. He settled on the little island of St Croix, fertile indeed, but which, in winter, afforded neither wood nor fresh water; and he removed afterwards to Port Royal, now Annapolis. This country, however, fulfilled none of those hopes of rapid wealth, under the influence of which most of the adventurers had been attracted thither. With difficulty it was made to yield the necessaries of life; and the fur-trade was very limited when compared with that which could

be carried on in the upper part of the St Lawrence. De Monts was moreover accused of riding on the top of his very ample commission, by capturing indiscriminately every vessel which approached the wide limits of the coast conveyed over to him; and it was but a derisive compensation which he sometimes offered, of giving their names to the point of the coast at which they had been seized. Complaints were made, that the Newfoundland fishery, a great source of national wealth, could no longer, on De Monts's account, be carried on with any safety. The King listened to the cry of the fishers, and deprived him of his commission, granting him only a small compensation. The company, however, continued under other auspices; but, finding that Acadia, as they had called their present settlement, offered none of the advantages sought for, they gradually moved over to Tadousac, on the St Lawrence, a little below the future station of Quebec. At length the English having appropriated to themselves this part of the continent, under the title of Nova Scotia, sent an expedition of three vessels, which rooted out all that remained of the French settlements and possessions, and sent the occupants prisoners to Virginia. The French made repeated attempts to regain possession of it; and the country fluctuated between the two nations till the treaty of Utrecht, by which, as before stated, it was finally ceded to England. Canada, however, remained much longer in the hands of the French, and became the main point from which they extended their range of discovery.

Samuel Champlain, who had accompanied De Monts in his different voyages, was now invested with the

chief direction, and became the real founder of Canada, or New France. He removed the seat of settlement higher up the river, to Quebec, which, seated on a hill, commanded the passage, here only a mile broad. Having built and fortified a town, and brought the surrounding territory into tolerable cultivation, he made it his next object to push into the interior. The southern bank both of the river and lakes was found occupied by two powerful people, the Algommequins (Algonquins), and the Entouhonorons (Hurons). These were engaged in deadly and almost ceaseless warfare with the Iroquets (Iroquois), a still fiercer and more warlike tribe, occupying all the southern shore of the St Lawrence and of Lakes Erie and Ontario. Champlain, to promote his objects of discovery and interior intercourse, determined, with wisdom somewhat dubious, to take an active part with the two former. He marched with them southward along the banks of the Sorel, and of the considerable lake which still bears his name. He was delighted with the appearance of the country, and of the numerous isles by which the river and lake were diversified. Game and fish were remarkably abundant; and the beavers, under favour of the wars which reigned continually among mankind, enjoyed an undisturbed peace, and multiplied in an extraordinary degree. To the south and west rose lofty mountains covered with snow, called now Savage Mountains, between which fine and fertile valleys were interspersed. Here they found the Iroquois, a fierce and proud race, accustomed to triumph over all the other occupants of these savage deserts. They marched intrepidly to meet the strang-

ers; but when they saw the flash of the guns, heard the balls whizzing in their ears, and witnessed their fatal effects, a panic seized them, and they took to flight. Several captives were slain, and Champlain had then an opportunity of witnessing a scene new to the civilized world, and which struck him with the deepest horror. A selection was made of one captive, upon whom were to be vented all the concentrated furies of savage vengeance. The whole body of allied Indians joined in inflicting that train of studied, lengthened, and exquisite torture, of which so many dreadful examples have since been seen. Amid these tortures, the victim was heard, in tones of proud defiance, raising his songs of war and death, boasting the superior prowess of his countrymen, recounting their victories, and the captives of the detested race of the Hurons whom they had taken and tortured. Champlain, shocked beyond measure at a scene in which he had almost a share, implored in vain that they would put an end to it; till at length some one hinted, that though they could never consent to this, yet he himself might terminate the sufferings of the victim. Champlain gladly loaded his gun, and shot the poor creature dead, when a new scene opened. After tearing and mangling his limbs, they pulled off the skin of the head, which, including the hair, formed the scalp, and was treasured as their grand war-trophy. They carried it home along with those of the other prisoners, and on approaching their native village, bore these precious spoils, fastened at the end of long pikes, in full view before them. Their wives

came swimming across the river to meet their lords, and, on seeing these signals of victory, raised loud shouts of exultation. They received them from the hands of the warriors, and tied them round their neck, as the most precious ornaments.

Champlain, in his next expedition, pursued a due westerly course towards the great lakes. He appears to have proceeded along the Ottawa to the lake of Nipisierini (Nipissing), and then to that of Attigononton, a vast body of water, extending four hundred leagues from east to west, and resembling an inland sea of fresh water. Such a description can apply only to Lake Superior; the shores of which, however, he represents as so rude and rocky, that he could scarcely find ten acres of land fit for cultivation. Thence, turning to the lake of the Entouhonorons, he was again engaged by his allies in a war with the Iroquois. The Hurons furnished two thousand five hundred warriors, well fitted with bow and tomahawk; but when Champlain sought to place them in line with his European troops, he could make next to nothing of them. The chiefs could maintain no sort of authority; all the troops made a rule of steadily following their own inclination, and doing exactly what they pleased,—a system, he says, which ruins all their affairs. Yet the whizzing of the French balls alone drove the enemy to flight; and several prisoners were taken. As the Hurons were beginning the work of torture on an Iroquois female, Champlain could not help bitterly reproaching them with such an unmanly and uncivilized proceeding. They

replied that it was no more than their enemies did to them; but, since it displeased him, they would desist, reserving only in full plenitude the right of torturing their male captives. Champlain now led them to the attack of a strong palisaded fort, into which the enemy had retreated; but he found his auxiliaries as little helpful here as in the field. The object was to set fire to the fort; but as they kindled the fire against the wind, it had no efficacy. The enemy mean time showed the utmost activity, both in extinguishing the fire, and in pouring clouds of arrows, by which the French chief received two severe wounds, and his whole party were obliged to sound a retreat. Champlain was packed up like a bundle, and thrown over the back of an Indian, tied so excessively tight, that he could not stir hand or foot, and the pain of his wounds, though severe, was less than he suffered from this dreadful position. However, by this painful process they effectually carried off their wounded, which he considers as the only laudable part of their tactics. Champlain now found that he had embarked on the weaker side; and the deadly enmity of a nation so powerful and extended as that of the Iroquois became a material bar to his designs.* On his return, his allies endeavoured to revive his spirits by the view of a stag-hunt. Two lines of palisades were made to approach each other, till they united at an angular point. The Indians then imitated the cry of the wolf,—a sound of all others the most justly terrible to the stags, which were thus impelled into the wide opening of the angular space. Thence they continued to be driven

along the interior of the palisades, till they were hedged into its extremity, and easily caught.*

By this expedition, however, Champlain was enabled to form an accurate idea of the extent and situation of Canada. He estimated it to contain four hundred and fifty leagues, which, enclosed by noble rivers and lakes, and opening into vast interior regions, seemed to afford almost indefinite scope both for trade and settlement. The Company, however, intent only upon commercial transactions, which did not yield all the fruit they expected, failed to second the ardour of Champlain, who represented so strongly to the court their supine and dilatory proceedings, that he procured the abrogation of their charter. From its ashes rose one on a much grander scale, and which aimed to convert New France into a colony of the first magnitude. Cardinal Richelieu placed himself at its head, and its hundred and seventy associates included many persons of rank as well as rich merchants and citizens. The first results answered very ill to these mighty demonstrations. The English, animated by that hostile feeling which was inspired by the persecution of the Protestants, and the siege of Rochelle, not only drove the French completely out of Acadia, but besieged and took Quebec; so that this boasted colony seemed for ever lost to the mother country. Many even urged that France ought to give herself no concern on the subject, since she never had derived, and, according to all appearance, never would derive any benefit from

* Champlain, Voyages.

this rude and distant possession. The feeling of national honour, however, was paramount; the most urgent representations were made to the court of England relative to this violent and unprovoked aggression. That court, then altogether inclined for peace, especially with France, agreed, on 29th March, 1632, to a convention, by which France was reinstated both in Acadia and Quebec.

The improvement and extension of the colony was now undertaken with more vigour than ever. A numerous fleet was sent out, and Champlain, who had given such repeated proofs of his zeal and capacity, was invested with the functions of governor-general. In 1642, Montreal, destined to become so flourishing a seat of the fur-trade, assumed the character of a town, and a continued chain of settlement was formed between it and Quebec. For fifty years the attention of government was rather directed to the consolidation and internal improvement of the colony than to exploring the expanse of interior America. The Count de Frontenac was seized with a more enterprising spirit. He extended the range of settlement to the shores of Lake Ontario, built there the fort that bears his name, and opened an intercourse with the tribes who roam over the boundless plains westward of the Alleghany. Here he learned that, afar along the western plain, there rolled a river so mighty, that even the hitherto unequalled stream of the St Lawrence could not come into competition with it. This river poured its stupendous waves not in any of the directions hitherto recognized in those of America, but towards some distant ocean, that lay far in

the south and the west. In the present darkness as to the boundaries and details of the continent, it was concluded that this could only be the *Mer Vermeio*, or Gulf of California, by which it was hoped that the long-sought-for passage might be found to the golden regions of India. Every motive, therefore, impelled the Count to strain every effort for its discovery. Frontenac found no want of bold and fitting instruments. M. Jolyet undertook, with two little Indian bark canoes, and three men in each, to explore these great and unknown secrets of interior America. He had an attendant, of whom Catholic expeditions of discovery were never in want. Father Marquette, with that courageous devotion which, though not always guided by enlightened views, uniformly inspired the Jesuit missionaries, accompanied him, in the hope of effecting the conversion of the numberless yet unknown tribes of savages whom they were to encounter. Having been long employed in missionary labours among the Canadian Indians, he had acquired a thorough knowledge of their character and the mode of dealing with them. The Indians on the lakes, however, communicated intelligence which was the reverse of encouraging. They warned the French, that perils, other and greater than mortal, awaited the daring bark which should be launched on these immense waters; that monsters of strange form and huge dimensions opened their mouth and received in one morsel the canoe with its entire crew. If they escaped this danger, they would come to a place where a mighty demon bestrode the stream, by whom the daring bark which approached within a cer-

tain distance was suddenly plunged into the depth of the waters. The French, however, assured their informants, that they were ready to encounter all the perils, natural and supernatural, which were to be met in descending this grand central stream of the continent.

The expedition proceeded first through the already explored lakes of Erie and Michigan, till they reached the north-western extremity of the latter, which Marquette conceives to have been the Ultima Thule of the French. It was called then the Bay des Puans, but bears now the more elegant appellation of Green Bay. The surrounding country was wandered by the Miamis, Mescounteens, and Kickapoos. The Miamis are considered as civilized and intelligent beyond most savages. They would often wake the French in the middle of the night, to ask farther information on any subject of which they had been talking. Their houses, being commodiously formed of rushes, can easily be taken to pieces and carried from place to place. On entering their chief village, there appeared in the middle of it a cross, on which were suspended white skins, red girdles, bows and arrows, offerings to the great Manitou for his care of them during the winter. The meadows around this village appeared the most extensive in the world. Two Miamis undertook to be their guides up the Fox River, and to see them embarked on the Ouiscousin, which fell into the Mississippi. The former, in fact, though broad at its entrance into the lake, was in its upper course so encumbered with marshes and narrow channels, that they could never have found their own way; and sometimes

the wild oats grew so thick amid the water, that they appeared to be sailing amongst fields of corn. At length, after a passage of a mile and a half, they were launched in the Ouiscousin, and their guides left them to find their own way into the unknown depths of America, without any other protection than what they supposed themselves to derive from a daily hymn to the Virgin.

The voyage down the Ouiscousin was easy and prosperous; and they saw it with exultation opening into that grand stream of which they were in search; the broad Mississippi descending from its distant northern fountains to the unknown southern sea in which it was to terminate. The banks bore a majestic character corresponding to that of this main central river of America. The trees appeared to Marquette the loftiest he had anywhere seen; wild bulls and other animals of gigantic stature roamed in vast herds over the meadows. The water abounded with fishes, among which there really were monsters, (caymans?) of very frightful aspect, and a collision of which with their fragile canoes might really not have been very safe. They sailed for more than two hundred miles through majestic solitudes, in which they did not discover a human being. At length they descried the print of human feet upon the sand; upon which Jolyet and Marquette followed the track, till it led them to a place where three villages were clustered together, and they were so near as to hear the voices of the inhabitants. Hereupon the French set up a loud cry; and this, which would have been enough to frighten a civilized com-

munity, reassured the savages, who thus saw that there was no intention to take them by surprise. Four old men advanced slowly and solemnly, and presented the calumet, or mysterious pipe, the symbol of peace over all America. They then conducted the strangers to the principal cabin, where the most venerated old man of the tribe stood, with his hands lifted towards the sun. He received them most courteously, saying, "This is a happy day, on which thou comest to visit us. All our people wait for thee, and thou shalt enter our cabin in peace." A multitude crowded round them, preserving the greatest order, and a few voices only saying, "You have done well, brethren, in coming to see us." The French stated four reasons of their journey, accompanying each reason with a present. The Indians approved of all, except their intention of proceeding farther down the river, against the dangers of which they kindly remonstrated. After this discussion the feast was introduced. The dishes were sagamity, or boiled Indian corn, enriched with fat and fish. The Indians took these victuals in a spoon, and, having cooled by blowing upon them, thrust the food into the mouths of the strangers, whom they fed as we do children. Then came the crown of the feast,—a dog, killed and dressed expressly to regale their guests; but, as they could not admit a morsel of this dainty within their lips, beef was furnished in its stead.

On inquiring the name of this people they were told, "the Illinois," a name which signifies *men*, and to which they thought themselves entitled in an especial and pre-eminent degree. Marquette does

not altogether repel this pretension, and considers them the most civilized people he had seen in America. One thing appeared mysterious; a number of men, who wore the clothes and followed the occupations of women, and were excluded from most manly exercises, though they were admitted to the national councils, and held in a sort of religious veneration. In other respects, the Illinois did not materially differ from the nations of Canada.

The travellers took leave of their kind hosts, and proceeded down the Mississippi. A number of rocks rose boldly from the banks, one of which had monsters painted in very brilliant colours on its perpendicular sides. Soon after they heard from the right a mighty roar of waters, and saw trees and floating islands rushing down into the channel. This was the influx of the great Missouri from its distant source in the Rocky Mountains, after a longer course, and with a larger body of water than the Mississippi itself. They recognize it under the name of Pekitanoni; and it was a subject of regret that the channel, which before was clear and gentle, became now troubled, muddy, and rapid. Soon after they saw, hovering in the centre of its streams, the demon of which they had been so solemnly forewarned. He consisted of a range of cliffs, crossing nearly the whole stream, and against which the waves dashed with noise and fury; and considerable skill was in fact necessary to guide the canoe over this American Scylla. The next event was the entrance from the eastward of the Ouabiskgou, (the united streams of the Wabash and the Ohio,) inhabited by a peaceable

race, who were cruelly harassed by the Iroquois. In descending the river they suffered severely from gnats, against which they were obliged, in imitation of the natives, to build a hut above their canoe, and kindle a fire beneath it, the smoke of which drove away those tormentors. They came to several villages, the inhabitants of which presented appearances a little hostile; but on presenting their calumet of peace, a friendly intercourse was always established. At length they came to the Akamseas, (at the mouth of the great river Arkansaw). Some fear was excited by the appearance of two large canoes, with the captain standing up in the midst of one of them; but the presentation of the calumet produced the usual hospitable reception; and though some in the council started a proposition to murder and rob them, it was indignantly overruled by the chief, who sealed his friendship by dancing the calumet in their presence. They were here informed, not with strict accuracy, that they were within five days' sail of the sea. On comparing this statement with their actual position, they became convinced that the Mississippi emptied itself into the gulf of Mexico, not as they had expected and hoped, into the sea of California. They considered, therefore, that by proceeding downward, they might fall into the hands of Spaniards, from whose jealous enmity they might suffer death, or at least imprisonment,—a very disagreeable issue to themselves, and which would lose to their country all the benefits of this extensive discovery. They determined, therefore, to return to Canada. Their voyage was laborious and tedious, as they had to struggle

against the stream; but, being by the very same route, it presented no new object or event.*

When Jolyet and Marquette reached Quebec, there happened to be in that city a young and enterprising Frenchman, of some birth and fortune, and who had come out with the view of attaining either wealth or distinction by American discovery. His name was Cavalier, to which he added the title of Sieur de la Salle, by which he is best known. His adventurous spirit was at once smitten by the accounts of this vast river, which seemed to afford a key to the whole of the interior continent. His ambition having been especially directed to the scheme of a northern passage to India, he is supposed to have conceived the idea of effecting it by means of the Upper Mississippi, though he surely could not expect to find an opening by this channel into the northern ocean. Full of these ideas, he set sail for France, where, through the favour of the Prince of Conti, he received every encouragement. The Prince presented him with a coadjutor, the Chevalier de Tonti, a brave officer, who had lost an arm in the wars of Sicily. La Salle, from the very circumstance that he could not refuse, felt probably some jealousy as to the companion thus fastened upon him, but who proved in fact to be a most useful and efficient coadjutor. He now set sail from Rochelle with thirty men, among whom were citizens of different descriptions. He did not linger at Que-

* Relation de Marquette, *ap.* Thévenot Recueil, tom. i.

bec, but hastened up to the lakes, where he spent two years in raising forts, carrying on the fur-trade, and building vessels of forty or fifty tons, which astonished the savages, who called them the great wooden canoes. Being unaccustomed, however, to the difficult navigation of the lakes, two of them were wrecked, which occasioned a severe loss. At length the whole party were united, like their predecessors, at the extremity of the lake of Illinois, which we call Michigan. They had hitherto maintained the most friendly intercourse, even the Iroquois having received favourably the embassy sent to smoke their pipe. Near their present station, however, there were a party of Outagamis, who, one night, creeping on their bellies, and in deep silence, reached the French quarters, where they succeeded in possessing themselves of a coat belonging to M. La Salle's servant. As they were making off, however, the sentinel heard a sort of noise, and called out, Who is there? to which they answered, "Friends." He told them he was glad to hear it, but this was the strangest time and manner of visiting friends he had ever known. The Outagamis made some lame apologies, which were accepted under the circumstances, till the absence of the coat was discovered. Hereupon a council being called, it was determined, rather idly perhaps, to take some strong step which might deter the Indians from similar visits. La Salle sent a message to the chief, intimating that he would kill him unless the coat was restored. This notice threw the Indians into a strange perplexity. The coat had been too inestimable a treasure to remain entire, or to be the

portion of any one man. It had been cut into pieces, and the buttons, being taken off, had been distributed among the chiefs, of whose collections they formed the pride. After taking a view of this state of things, the Outagamis concluded, that no alternative was left to them but to present themselves to the French in battle-array. This was not precisely what had been expected, and the visages of some of the French were observed to become somewhat pale at such an issue. La Salle ran about cheering his men to the combat; but Father Hennepin, seeing no symptoms of either side being very blood-thirsty, very laudably walked forward to the oldest Outagami, and offered to act as mediator. It was immediately agreed to send two of their elders, provided an assurance was given of their safety. This arrangement being made, they assured La Salle that the misdeed had been committed by some of their rash young men, and that their only motive for not restoring the coat was the impossibility of doing so, arising out of the state to which it had been reduced. La Salle, sensible that matters had gone rather too far, was not inexorable, and a good understanding was soon restored. The savages even requested him to remain with themselves rather than go among the Illinois, who were very numerous, and would kill him. They expressed also great esteem for the grey-coats that went barefoot, some of whom they would have wished to remain with them.

Without regard to the above sinister presages, La Salle set out with forty-four men and three recollets, to follow the Mississippi downwards to its termina-

tion. He took a different and more direct course,—ascending the Miami, and then descending the Illinois. They found its course very fine, equally beautiful and fertile, and bordered by large villages. The first they came to, composed of five hundred wooden huts, was deserted; but, in descending the river, they found themselves suddenly between two large bodies, encamped on the opposite banks. The Illinois, astonished by this large array of strangers, placed themselves in order of battle. However, the French, drawing up themselves in a line, and in a good posture of defence, were merely asked, who they were, and for what purpose they came? They answered, that they were subjects of the King of France, who had sent them for the purpose of instructing and doing them all the good in his power, and without any evil intention. The Indians then presented the calumet of peace, declared their respect for his French majesty, and invited the French on shore. They now made a grand feast, composed of beef, venison, and game of every description, and, when the Europeans added brandy, materials were afforded for an uninterrupted festival of three days. The French, according to Indian usage, received the names of comrades, friends, and even of brothers; and some of them were adopted as members of the principal families. Every thing, therefore, on the dreaded side of the savages afforded the most favourable promise for La Salle's undertaking. His only danger was from the discontents fermenting among his own people, and which existed to an extent sufficient to overturn the best-laid schemes. The sense of this, and the rumours of the

loss of his principal bark, wrought so strongly upon his mind, that, in building a small fort to secure his present position, he gave it the name of Crevecœur (Heart-break). His followers made haste to justify this appellation. They do not seem to have had any just ground of complaint; but they murmured at being led into distant and unknown regions, among men worse than brutes, and having the prospect of being led still farther, to gratify the caprice of an adventurer, and fulfil his prospects of aggrandizement, which they were not to share. To effect his destruction and their own return became their main object. They represented him to the natives as a spy of the Iroquois, their ancient enemies, for whose sake he was observing their country, and building the present fort, and whom he would soon lead to effect their utter destruction. These assertions made a deep impression on the credulous minds of the savages. La Salle, soon perceiving this by their altered manner, formed a bold and decisive resolution. He went directly to the assembly of the chiefs, and demanded to know the cause of the evident alienation which had taken place. The chiefs frankly told him; and he then argued the point so forcibly, and showed so clearly the motives of the calumny, that they were entirely satisfied. Presently, however, came an Iroquois envoy, who represented that the French were endeavouring to make themselves masters of all America; for which purpose they especially sought to arm Americans against each other; that the mission of La Salle could have no other object, and the building of the fort was one of the steps towards it. La Salle breasted this danger

in the same bold manner; and, by openly arguing with his antagonist, succeeded in dispelling an apprehension which was not so wholly devoid of foundation. But his perils were not at an end. His ruffian followers, when they saw all other means of his destruction fail, formed the horrid design of administering poison both to himself and all the friends who would have avenged his death; and this they succeeded in doing at the Christmas dinner. Scarcely was the entertainment over, when the company began to be seized with convulsive affections, the cause of which being immediately penetrated by La Salle, he used and recommended a large doze of treacle, which, with other remedies, effected the restoration of the whole poisoned party. The villains, in horror at seeing him alive, fled, and were in vain pursued through these immense deserts.

La Salle, though by his firmness he had baffled all these plots and perils, found himself so much weakened by the desertion of his men, that he resolved to return to Fort Frontenac for a fresh supply of arms and ammunition. He sent, however, Dacan, with Father Louis Hennepin, and four other Frenchmen, to reach the Mississippi, and ascend that river to its source,—an expedition the result of which will come afterwards under our view. Tonti was left with the command of the fort and men; but the mutinous spirits were not all purged out of the latter, and when Tonti returned from an occasional absence, he found that the greatest number had deserted the fort, carrying with them every thing that could be carried. By great activity many of the fugitives being caught,

were partly hanged and partly pardoned; and some of the savages recruited the French ranks. Scarcely, however, were matters brought again to a tolerable state, when a fresh calamity was announced. The Iroquois, it appeared, were advancing to attack the Illinois, whom they both outnumbered and surpassed in valour, and the Illinois felt all their suspicions revive of a correspondence between the French and their mortal enemies. Tonti was so much stung by this circumstance, that he determined to proceed personally and singly to the hostile camp, and endeavour to negotiate a treaty. He approached with the calumet of peace, but was immediately seized, and a stroke made at him with a knife, which would have caused death, but for the interposition of the ribs. This, however, was contrary to the savage law of nations, and all the others cried "Shame! shame!" and led him before their chiefs, Agoustot and Tagoncourte. As he was opening his treaty, however, news came that the parties were skirmishing, and that some Frenchmen were seen fighting on the side of the Illinois. The fate of Tonti appeared now sealed; and a young Indian behind him, holding a knife, began fondly stroking his hair, under the evident feeling what a fine scalp it would make. Tonti, however, besought him to have a little patience, till he saw whether the council would award him this savage prize. He exhausted all his oratory to incline the Iroquois chiefs to peace. He endeavoured to work both on their affections and fears. He represented that Count Frontenac, their father, and M. La Salle, their brother, would

be highly displeased with their present hostile conduct, and would not fail to inflict due chastisement, to which he scrupled not to add, that the opposite force, consisting of 600 Illinois and 200 French, would be found much more than a match for theirs. Notwithstanding all this, the fierce Tagan Courte still advised death; but Agouston, a friend of La Salle, was listened to on the side of mercy, and Tonti was even sent back with a fine collar of porcelain, in token of sincere peace and amity with the Illinois. Two days after their chiefs waited upon him and presented three collars of wampum; the first of which was in honour of the governor of Canada, the second of La Salle, and the third intimated a perpetual alliance with the Illinois. A few days after, Tonti was respectfully invited to the council, where he was presented with six bags of beaver-skins, all of them significant. The two first were to Count Frontenac, their father, the third was for plaster to his wounds, the fourth was for oil to rub his legs, the fifth was in veneration of the sun; while the sixth imported, that the French should next morning evacuate the fort, and set out for their own settlements in Canada. This last bag effaced from the mind of Tonti all the favourable impressions which the first five had excited. He began indignantly to sound them as to what would happen in failure of the condition which they had attached to it. The reply was neither very prompt nor perspicuous; but its import seemed very clearly to be, that they would devour him. Hereupon Tonti indignantly kicked away the bags, and departed both in wrath and in

haste; for it was whispered to him that, in the present temper of the chiefs, there was not a moment to lose for his personal safety. That night a council was held at the fort, and as they cooled it became evident that they were in a very critical situation. The Iroquois had discovered the deception put upon them in regard to the French force, at which they were highly indignant; so that, if the import of the sixth bag were not verified, a general attack would be made, which they felt themselves very unable to resist. All things considered, there appeared no choice, but forthwith to pack up, embark on the river, and make the best of their way towards the lakes. This was effected with all speed, and in a month they reached the shores of Lake Michigan.

La Salle, even under this accumulation of disasters, did not lose courage. Having collected twenty men, with the requisite provisions and stores, he put himself in motion early next season. He now wisely determined no longer to lose time in building forts in wild and untenable positions, but to push directly down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. The waters being frozen when he first set out, he was obliged to proceed by land, but at length embarked on the Illinois, and proceeded direct down to the Mississippi. He soon came to the immense muddy influx of the Missouri, which he calls Osage, and to the Ohio, which he names, from its great tributary, the Wabash. Descending the river sixty leagues, he came to the nation of the Chicacha, (Chickasaws,) whose pride is to make their faces like flat plates, by the application of wooden tablets, strongly girt with

bands, to the foreheads of the children. The people were numerous, in a plentiful country, and supplied them amply with every refreshment. Fifty leagues lower down they came to the Cappa, where they were at first somewhat alarmed by the sound of a drum; but, on coming in contact with the people, found them also quite friendly and civilized. They came next to the Akanceas, (Arkansaws,) where tidings of them having preceded their arrival, a great multitude were assembled to see them, and hear the discharge of their fire-arms. Here they procured guides to the Taencas; among whom they found something decidedly superior to any thing else they had seen in America. The streets of the village were built in a straight line and regular order; and both the palace and the temple had some share of magnificence. The ladies, dressed in cloth of woven rushes, with necklaces and ear-rings of pearl,—with a deep-brown complexion and black sparkling eyes, enchanted the Chevalier. Seeing one of the princesses cast a longing eye on a case of scissors, which had been presented to the king, he slipped a pair into her hand, and received a cordial squeeze in return. As another lady cast a somewhat rueful glance at the thorns with which her train was rudely fastened, he delighted her by presenting a parcel of pins. The Taencas were found under a political system, nearly similar to the celebrated one of the Natches,—an absolute prince, who is not only implicitly obeyed, but venerated almost as a God, before whose path flowers are strewn, and on whose tomb twenty of the principal chiefs voluntarily im-

molate themselves. Tonti returned to the boat, and gave La Salle an account of his friendly reception, and presently after the royal barge was seen approaching, with drums beating, and female attendants playing on various instruments. A most amicable interview took place, in which it is even asserted that he acknowledged himself the vassal of the King of France; but upon this point we must reserve our belief.

In proceeding farther down they were met by a canoe containing a hundred men, armed with bows and arrows, which appeared about to be employed against the French. La Salle, however, caused his men to arrange their canoes in regular array, when, having placed them in this formidable position, he presented the calumet of peace, which by this time the natives were heartily glad to accept. These were of the nation of the Natches; and La Salle was invited to their village, which presented, on a greater scale, the same scene just seen among the Taencas. The Quinipissas received them in a very different manner, and, lining the shore, answered their advances only by a shower of arrows; whereupon they very wisely sailed on. Tangibao, to which they came next, presented a dreadful picture of savage warfare. It had just been surprised and sacked, and the dead bodies of its inhabitants were lying piled over each other. They thought it was not good staying here, and sailed on with all speed. Ten leagues farther the channel began to assume a new character. It stretched to a breadth so immense, that one side could no longer be seen from the opposite, the taste of the water

became more and more brackish, and the shore was strewed with large and beautiful shells. They were at the mouth of the Mississippi.

La Salle celebrated with extraordinary rejoicings this triumphant accomplishment of the object of his voyage. *Te Deum* was sung, the cross suspended to the top of a large tree, and the arms of France set up. The sun's altitude was then taken, and the latitude fixed as between the degrees of 22 and 23, very erroneously, unless there be some mistake of copying. The immediate banks were so flat and so inundated by the tide as to be uninhabitable; but a few leagues up the soil became rich and the country beautiful. He now determined to reascend the river, and, proceeding by way of Canada to France, convey thither in person the tidings of this splendid discovery. The ascent, however, was of course much harder than the descent, and their provisions beginning to fail, they were driven to somewhat violent and perilous modes of supply. It was needful to begin with their friends, the Quinipissas, who had given them such an inhospitable reception. They thought themselves lucky in falling in with four females of that nation, whom they treated in the kindest manner, and then sent one of them, loaded with trinkets, hoping that she would act as a mediator. Accordingly the chief came out, and invited them to take refreshments, and spend the night in his village. Under this fair seeming, however, deep treachery lurked; and had not the French been strictly on their guard, they would have been destroyed in an attack made at daybreak by the united body of the

savages. Being roused, however, in due time, they killed several, and most barbarously, in imitation of the reprobated practice of their enemies, tore off their scalps, which they carried away as trophies. They next repaired to the Natches, to whom they presented the Quinipissa scalps, which, being those of their enemies, would both, it was hoped, excite their ardent gratitude, and show "that they were not persons to be fooled with." The prince did not receive those horrid gifts with all the complacency which was expected; and there appeared many symptoms, that, if they had not seen the French so closely on the watch, they might have followed the Quinipissa example. After this, in the course of several months, which it cost them to reascend the Mississippi and Illinois, they met with various adventures, but made their way without any serious obstruction, and La Salle, having reached Quebec, immediately set off for France.

The French court received La Salle with all the distinction due to the eminent discovery which he had made. The plan with which he followed it up, of forming a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi, and thence establishing a regular communication with Canada, was cordially embraced. An expedition was fitted out, comprising four vessels of various sizes, and a crew of 280 men; and La Salle was made absolute governor of all that back region, which extends from the lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. He set sail from La Rochelle on the 24th July, 1784, along with the West India fleet; and, after touching at St Domingo and Cuba, arrived on the coast of Florida. But here

he was involved in an unforeseen perplexity. Although he had formerly reached the mouth of the Mississippi, he had not come down so far as to be able to know its appearance from the sea; he possessed no observation of longitude; and he inquired in vain of the pilots and navigators of America on the subject. The little information he got tended to mislead him; and he passed the main opening of that great stream without knowing it. He proceeded upwards of two hundred miles to the westward, and found himself in a bay, afterwards called that of St Bernard. Finding himself in a broad channel, bordering a fine country, he resolved to found here the fort which was to be the basis of the establishment. Accumulated evils, however, began here to press upon him. The vessel in which were deposited his stores, utensils, and all the materials of his establishment, sunk, through the misconduct, and, as was suspected, the evil purpose of the commander. La Salle, by great activity, saved a part of them; but as the rest floated down the river, they were eagerly appropriated by the Indians. The violent measures adopted by La Salle for compelling them to desist and to make restitution, kindled the deepest resentment in this fierce and proud tribe, called the Clamcoets. It led to one of those dreadful midnight attacks which form the usual mode of American warfare, and in which they killed two and wounded several of the French. A similar outrage was repeated on other occasions, when opportunity was found. The health of many began to sink under the tropical climate, and one of the officers having been bit by a serpent, without knowing how to cure it, died

of the wound. The flat-bottomed boat, or frigate, as it was called, which had been brought for the purpose of surveying the coast, also perished. Meantime Tonti, surprised and anxious at receiving no tidings of the expedition, measured over again the whole of the former voyage, and reached the mouth of the Mississippi. He made the most diligent search on each shore, and, proceeding to the sea, sent boats both east and west, which examined the coast for twenty leagues in each direction, but without seeing the least trace of any thing French, or being able to obtain the slightest intelligence respecting La Salle and his expedition. He then gave up the search in despair, and sailed upward to the lakes.

Meantime La Salle struggled with energy against the difficulties of his situation, aggravated by the hostile conduct of the commandant, who, though enjoined to obey, sought only to thwart him on every occasion. He completed the fort, suppressed a violent mutiny, and made several excursions into the neighbouring country. He became sensible that he was not in the Mississippi; and as the country, though sufficiently fertile, offered no prospects of wealth, or opening for commerce, he determined to penetrate to the Mississippi and the Illinois, and endeavour to form an exact idea of his situation with regard to those rivers, and the continent in general. He took with him twenty men, among whom was his nephew, of the name of Moranger, a young man of merit, but of somewhat haughty spirit. He became an object of resentment to several of those fierce and turbulent spirits, who formed the savage resolution of satiating

their revenge by his blood. Having gone some miles with him on a hunting expedition, they attacked at once him and his servant, and soon executed their bloody purpose. La Salle, when night came, without the return of his nephew or any of his party, felt a dreadful foreboding, and early next morning set off for the quarter where he understood them to be. It was not long till he discovered his nephew lying stretched on the ground, and weltering in his blood. As he sought the assassins with every expression of grief and rage, two of them, who were concealed in the grass, started up and successively fired at him. One of the balls entered his head, and he died in an hour after.

Thus perished, on a distant and savage spot in the depths of America, one of the most distinguished explorers of that continent. He evidently possessed courage, activity, address, and perseverance sufficient to accomplish the boldest enterprises. There can only arise the question, on considering the dreadful enmities which arose against him among his followers, whether he possessed a conciliatory spirit, and the art of managing the minds of men? Prevost says, that even his friends and panegyrists admitted that he was harsh, violent, and tyrannical. Such a character is not given of him by Hennepin and Tonti, who knew him intimately, and do not qualify in any shape the praises which they bestow upon him. Tonti laments him as a friend in the tenderest terms. He talks of those blooming families of whom he was the common father, the main support, and who were ruined by his loss. He mentions him as a man universally beloved,

Indeed the influence which he possessed with the savages, and the attachment felt towards him by those fierce spirits, affords a strong presumption that he was not altogether of the rash and violent temper imputed to him. The persons employed in these distant expeditions were too often composed of the refuse of Europe, or at least of those daring and intractable spirits who, removed beyond the pale of law and society, thought themselves exempted from every restraint, and indignantly repelled the necessary attempt to enforce it.*

We have already mentioned that La Salle, on his first return from the Illinois to Lake Michigan, had sent forward *Dacan* and Father *Hennepin* to survey the Mississippi from its source to its termination. Hennepin has left a pretty copious narrative of this expedition. They first went down the river almost to its mouth; but the sailors being alarmed at the idea of falling into the hands of the Spaniards, obliged them to return. Reascending the river, they passed the mouth of the Illinois, afterwards that of the Ouiscousin, and reached above the falls of St Anthony. During this voyage, Hennepin made it his daily prayer, that if he should meet with Indians, it might be by day, and not by night; at which last period it is their invariable system to kill, plunder, and scalp all who come in their way. To this extent his prayer was granted. About eight leagues above the fall of

* Tonti *ap.* Voyages au Nord, v. 86-183. Hennepin, ib. tom. ix. Charlevoix, Nouv. France, iii. 34-7. Hist. Gen. des Voyages, xiv.

St Anthony, at two in the afternoon, fifty canoes of bark, manned by about a hundred and twenty naked savages, were seen descending the river with incredible swiftness. All attempts to escape being vain, the French made towards them, and presented the calumet of peace, saying, in the Iroquois language, *Mistigouche Diatches*, "Friends, we are the men of wooden canoes;" but this was quite unintelligible to them. The savages surrounded the party with loud shouts and cries, and were preparing their arrows, when an elderly chief came forward, and endeavoured to hold some intercourse with them by signs. He particularly sought to learn what was become of the Miamis, the enemies of his tribe, for whose destruction they had come down in this savage array. The French gave them to understand, that the Miamis were beyond their reach, having retreated and joined the Illinois. This was evidently felt as a deep disappointment; and several, who had relations to avenge upon the Miamis, shed copious tears, accompanied with the most doleful cries. The French, as coming from the Miamis, shared the odium of that race; and the chief having refused to smoke in their calumet of peace, it was plain that their life was in the utmost peril. Suddenly the Indians set up a dreadful united shout, and hurried them across the river, keeping up a series of howlings, which thrilled through their nerves. On reaching the opposite bank, it was announced to them, that they must prepare for death. Hereupon Hennepin felt that he must bestir himself, and having examined his stores, drew forth six hatchets, fifteen knives, and some pieces of Virginia tobacco. This

donation smoothed the brows of several of the chiefs, and though they still refused the calumet, they presented some beaver-flesh, cooled by being blown upon with their mouths, and allowed the captives to go to sleep. Next morning a young chief, painted all over, came and asked for their pipe of peace. On its being delivered he filled it with tobacco, caused it to be smoked first by his own tribe, and then by those who had shown the greatest enmity to the strangers. It was announced, however, that they must accompany them to their home, whither, since the Miamis had escaped, they had now resolved to return.

The French were pretty roughly treated in their passage up the river, and were exposed to much fear from Hennepin's determination to go through his sacred office, without regard to his pagan and savage spectators. As the Indians made strange gestures whenever he began, his companions represented to him that if he persisted, they would certainly all be killed. They entreated him not to sacrifice their lives to this ritual, and at least to seek a private opportunity of performing it. Hennepin attempted to follow this last advice; but the Indians, thinking he was attempting to fly or secrete something valuable, watched him so closely as to render this plan abortive. At length he announced to his companions, that he was resolved to go through his office, and leave the event to Providence. As he took out the prayer-book and began to read, the Indians showed a strange emotion; but, as was afterwards understood, they considered it an evil spirit whom he was endeavouring to sooth,—a ceremony not foreign to their

own worship, and which they did not consider worthy of reprobation. The most critical moment in the eye of his companions was when the father took out his breviary and began to chaunt the litany. They were agreeably disappointed; the Indians listened with pleasure to the music, and considered the breviary as a friendly spirit, which was teaching him to sing. Yet there remained still a party who eagerly thirsted for the blood of the French in the room of that of the Miamis. One old chief endeavoured to effect his purpose by standing beside them, and weeping the whole night without intermission. When he could hold on no longer, he called one of his sons to weep in his room, so that the lamentation was never intermitted. These tears sorely afflicted the captives, not merely on account of the deadly purpose with which they were shed, but because they made it impossible to take the rest which fatigue urgently demanded. These doleful proceedings brought repeatedly under discussion the question of killing them; but the friendly chiefs urged, that the calumet having been smoked, the faith of the tribe was now plighted, and that, by giving good treatment to these prisoners, they might obtain a store of the "iron with the evil spirit," as they call *guns*; the superior nature of which to their own arrows they already well understood. Although, however, the French continued to hold their lives by this precarious tenure, the hardships they endured were unspeakable. The Indians marched, or rather flew, with almost preternatural speed, and without being retarded for a moment by rocks, swamps, or the most entangled forests. The

captives, at their best, were very unequal to such a career, and being soon overcome with fatigue, and their legs and feet cut and bleeding, they could with difficulty walk at all. No allowance was made; the Indians, enraged that their progress should be stopped, used the most violent means of pushing them forward. When every thing else failed, they set the dry grass behind them on fire, which spread most rapidly, and then indeed it was "run or burn." However, when at any time the last alternative seemed to be nearly inevitable, the savages ran and carried them off out of the danger. After nineteen days of this dreadful march, they came to a spot in the midst of almost inaccessible morasses, which, being thought secure against enemies, had been made the head-quarters of the tribe. As the chiefs were now about to separate, they began a survey of the French property, which had hitherto been in some degree respected, for the purpose of dividing it among themselves. A roll of very fine tobacco was the most tempting object, and had almost given occasion to a battle. They took possession also of Hennepin's embroidered sacerdotal robe, and all the ornaments of his portable chapel. The chalice only threw such a glitter of light that no one durst touch it. After dividing their property, the next affair was to divide the French themselves; and this was the subject of long and eager discussion. At length Hennepin learned with utter horror, that he had fallen to the lot of the same chief who had shed so many tears in order to obtain his life. He now deemed it high time indeed to prepare for his last hour on earth;

but great was his surprise, when the chief advanced with the calumet of peace in his hand, which he presented, receiving that of Hennepin in return. The latter was now acquainted, that the national customs allowing the chief two alternatives, either to kill him with torture, or to adopt him as a son, he had, after some preparations being made for the first, ended with fixing upon the latter, and that he might now expect from him all the tenderness of a parent. Hennepin was then introduced to his kindred, and first to a brother, who had got on his sacerdotal robe, and was walking up and down with it in great pride, calling it the robe of the sun, having wrapped in it the bones of a revered relation deceased. The worthy friar was then led to the tent, where he found six mothers, the chief being privileged to indulge in polygamy to a considerable extent. This large family, of whom Hennepin had so suddenly become a member, applied themselves to cure the severe rheumatic affections which he had contracted from cold and fatigue, and which made him unable to rise without assistance. They laid him on a bear's skin, and rubbed him with the grease of wild cats; but this being found insufficient, they stripped him naked, and hurried him to the sweating-house, or great vapour-bath. They kept him lying for several hours, during which his father and three of his brothers partly sung and partly wept, straining their voices to the very highest pitch. Hennepin thought this remedy would have cured him of all his earthly evils, instead of which, after a few applications, it entirely restored him to health.

Hennepin now felt a desire to learn the language of his new family; but there was on both sides such a total ignorance, as did not leave him a single point from which to set out. At length he caught the word *Tabetchiaben*, "How do you call this?" which served as a basis. As in answer to this he received the names of successive objects, he wrote them down upon paper,—an operation which, with others unintelligible to them, conveyed the idea of him as a supernatural being. They addressed him by the appellation of Spirit, and in unfavourable weather solicited a change, though he solemnly deprecated any such power. The paper, or *white*, as they called it, was imagined to be another Spirit, to whom he told and by whom he was reminded of every thing. They amused themselves with telling him long catalogues of the names of objects, always adding, "Spirit tell that to *white*." As they were naming all the parts of the different objects, they included some that were frivolous, and even indecent; and as they saw him omitting these, they called out, "Tell that to *white* too! Tell that to *white* too!" Their fear and veneration were especially excited by a round iron pot which the French had brought with them, as less brittle than earthen ware. It was tendered as a present to several whose favour it was desirable to gain; but they repelled it with horror, believing it to be a malignant power, and would not even touch it, without having their hands well covered with beaver-skin. The women, not daring to sleep in the same house with it, took care to have it hung without doors, on the bough of a tree.

Winter now came on, and a severe scarcity of provisions affected the settlement, in which Hennepin very amply shared. Neither their tenderness for him as a son, nor their veneration as a divinity, prevented them from giving him scarcely a sufficiency of food to keep soul and body together. His mothers had other children who came much closer to them, and to whom they were more inclined to give the little they could spare, than to this foreign and mysterious son. Hennepin at last was able to subsist only on roots and berries which he collected, without being able to make any very nice distinction whether they were palatable, or even wholesome.

This extreme want, without any means of supply, made it next to impossible for the savages to refuse to their captives permission to depart. Accordingly they sailed down the river Mississippi, meeting with various adventures, which, for brevity's sake, and because they have nothing very striking, are here omitted. They met, however, the Sieur de Luth, with a party, coming to inquire after them, and endeavour to form a settlement on the Mississippi. Hennepin turned back with them; but found so many obstacles, that he determined for the present to return to Canada.

During his residence among the savages, Hennepin made inquiry of some who came from the westward concerning the South Sea and the Strait of Anian, which had been one of La Salle's principal objects. Several assured him that they had come five hundred leagues from the westward, and had never found any great lake or sea, nor, consequently, any

straits, and had heard of none such from any of their neighbours. There were only great rivers, traversing a boundless extent of plain, great part of which was destitute of wood. He concludes, therefore, that there is no Strait of Anian, and no separation between Asia and America. Although this last inference be so very erroneous, it was yet a natural one under Hennepin's circumstances. It was always hitherto supposed, that, if the South Sea bounded North America, it must be immediately behind the settlements formed by Europeans along the coast; nor was it ever imagined that the continent could stretch here to such an immense and continuous breadth as it actually does.

The many adverse events which had attended this expedition, deterred for some time any others from attempting to penetrate beyond the lakes. Indeed, the government seems never to have concerned itself to form a settlement in these vast interior regions of America, but left them to be explored by individuals animated by private adventure or religious zeal. Among the first, and one of the most conspicuous, was Baron La Hontan, a French gentleman of good family, who went out early to Canada, hoping to retrieve his paternal fortune, which had suffered by several misadventures. Being employed by government upon the lakes, he became so intimate with the savages, that the public, it appears, accused him of having become a savage himself; which, he insists, was doing him more honour than he deserved. However, this intimacy between him and the Indians led him to the scheme of penetrating deeper into their territories. He formed the plan of an expedition to

those eastern regions beyond the Mississippi, which European enterprise had never till now contemplated. His object was to ascend that great tributary, which he calls Long, but which I apprehend to be that known under the name of Peter's River. He proceeded first to Lake Michigan, the general point of outset, and, descending the Oniscousin, found himself in the Mississippi. He passed successively through the country and numerous villages of the Eokoros, the Essanapes, and the Gnaczitares; but he is not celebrated for the genuineness of his names. Among these last he found himself beyond the range of the calumet of peace, that mystic and sacred symbol not being here understood. They appeared, however, the most polished Indians he had yet met with; their houses were well constructed, and their villages large. They were well acquainted by report with the Spaniards of New Mexico, with whom their wide wanderings brought them sometimes into contact. The French were here visited by a party of a people called Mozeemlik, who were said to be very powerful, and who pleased them by their grave and polite deportment. They reported, that far to the west there was a great salt lake, about three hundred leagues in circumference, and with a wide opening to the south. In the interval there was a broad range of very high and steep mountains, which could not be crossed without great difficulty. From them rivers flowed,—on one side to the Mississippi, on the other towards the salt lake. These statements sufficiently authenticate the journey and information of La Hontan. The salt lake, a name which the Americans familiarly apply to the

sea, appears to be Queen Charlotte Sound, the river the Columbia, and the mountain-range evidently that of the Rocky Mountains. From the lake on which the Gnaczitares dwell, La Hontan descended in five weeks to the Mississippi. He went down that river as far as the Illinois; in ascending which he found the fort of Crevecœur still under the command of De Tonti, who, he says, was highly respected in that neighbourhood.

Among the missionary travellers the most eminent was Father Charlevoix. He made what may be termed the grand tour of interior America; proceeding up the St Lawrence through the lakes, and then down the Mississippi to New Orleans. As he was well attended, and effectually supported in a route now repeatedly traced, he met with few adventures; but he collected materials for the best published account, both of the very extensive dominions then possessed by France in America, and of the institutions and character of the Indian tribes. On the former subject his information is now superseded; but on the latter he will, in the following chapter, furnish us with a great part of the materials on which its information is to be founded.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE AMERICAN INDIANS.

Views of Savage Life.—The Five Nations.—Form of Policy.—War.—Declaration.—March.—Surprise.—Return.—Treatment of Captives.—Negotiations.—Religious Belief and Observances.—Arts.—Amusements.—Music.—Dancing.—Domestic Life.—General Decline and Disappearance of these Tribes.—Its Causes.

AMONG the results of American discovery there is none which, considering man as an intellectual being, seems entitled to rank higher than the new, bold, and picturesque forms under which it presented human manners and existence. The species appeared much more nearly approaching to what has been accounted his state of nature than in any region of the old continent. The Scythian, among the ancients, had been taken as the representative of the man of nature; but, however rude might be his aspect when compared with the civilized Greek or Roman, he had already made a certain progress in the arts of life. He belonged to the pastoral state, possessed numerous flocks and herds, while the nation was assembled in large bodies, and obeyed ancient and hereditary chiefs.

The Indians of North America, on the contrary, formed only a handful of men, scattered over an immense extent of continent. Destitute of sway over any part of the animal creation, they subsisted entirely on the precarious produce of the chase. In this state they afforded favourable elements for solving the interesting question of what man is, when not yet subjected to the influence of order, law, and civilization? They then fatally refuted the theory maintained by some philosophers, and even fondly cherished by the human heart, of a state of nature as one of simplicity and innocence. Such a state, so far as it has any real existence, is found only among the inhabitants of a civilized country placed in retired and rural situations, restrained by law, and maintained by the order of society in a round of regular and peaceful occupation. But man, untaught and freed from every restraint, soon shows, that there is within him a source of evil which arrives at a rapid and terrible development. It inspires fierce and unbounded passions, impelling to excesses of crime, such as are viewed with horror by the most corrupted members of a civilized society. Yet this dark picture is not without some great and some amiable features. Liberal hospitality, unbounded attachment to their chiefs or communities, fearless courage, and daring fortitude, are virtues thoroughly and uniformly displayed by the Indian. We have caught striking views of savage life, in tracing the progress of settlement in the countries along the Atlantic coast; but it is on the lakes of Canada, and along the Mississippi and its tributaries, that this life was displayed under its boldest and grandest features. In particular

the Iroquois, or Five Nations took long a most prominent part, and displayed, in the most marked and decided manner, all that is peculiar in the Indian character. They were formed of the Mohawks, the Oneydas, the Onondagoes, the Cayugas, and the Senekas; to which the Tuscaroras, by a voluntary union, added a sixth. Their enemies, the Hurons and Algonquins, ranged on the opposite side of the lake and river boundary. The Outagamis and Nadouessis, on the Upper Mississippi, the Illinois, on the river of that name, the Natches, Chikasaws, and Choktaws, on the Lower Mississippi, were also prominent among the Indian nations.

Philosophers, who have drawn in the closet the ideal picture of man in the savage state, have imagined, that where the supply of food and clothing is so scanty and precarious, the obtaining of these first and necessary objects will absorb every effort, and leave scarcely room for any farther thought. Actual observation tells a different tale. It shows, that the finding of food is neither the only nor the chief object which occupies the time or mind of the savage. Agriculture, and the rude processes of clothing and covering, are carelessly devolved upon the enslaved females. Hunting, which, as a train of suspense and adventure, derives an attraction which renders it always a favourite recreation of the opulent in civilized life, is the only form under which he deigns, *en s'amusant*, to contribute to the public subsistence. The objects which engross his soul, and call forth all its energies, are those of the state and of war. Our modern economists, following Smith, of whose few errors this is perhaps the greatest,

are too apt to consider man as a mere money-making animal, who will never hesitate to work, provided he is well paid for it. They do not consider that the desire of power and of esteem are more powerful principles than the desire of wealth, which is itself chiefly valued from the consideration which is attached to it in a commercial state of society. But by the naked tenant of the Indian wigwam the invitation to do hard work at a guinea a-day would be rejected as the foulest insult. It would sink him at once from a statesman and warrior, the highest characters in the eyes of mankind, to the humble station of a peasant and a mechanic.

It might have been supposed, that nations which possessed nothing, which never aimed at conquest, and which never exercised an internal police or jurisdiction, would have little subject on which to consider or debate. This is so far from being the case, that the British senate is not more crowded with business than the Mohawk or Oneyda councils. Surrounded by other tribes with whom they are in a state of perpetual enmity, they have to negotiate treaties of peace, to form alliances, to learn every movement of the enemy, and, above all, to mature the plans and organize the resources of war. It was by their deep and deliberate policy as much as by their arms that the Iroquois acquired such an ascendant throughout America. The French and English, who went to treat with them, found them as well acquainted with the interest of their own tribes, and of all those for more than a thousand miles round, as the best instructed European cabinets. All the warriors are present

at the national council; but each family names an orator, who alone is permitted to speak; and their oratory is much extolled. They have a hereditary chief, to whom some form of respect is paid, and a war-chief, who, by personal influence and the opinion of his valour, usually leads them to battle. Neither chief nor council, however, can exercise the smallest control over the actions of any individual, or punish him for the most enormous crime of which he may be guilty. Even if one murders another, the right of exacting blood for blood rests entirely with the relations of the deceased. The public never interfere, unless as mediators, that the national tranquillity may not be disturbed; with which view, instead of forwarding the ends of justice, they endeavour to persuade the injured party to compound matters on the easiest possible terms; they will even provide a compensation out of the public funds. Outrages of this nature, however, are rendered very rare, by the attachment which unites the members of these communities to each other, cemented by fear and hatred of all the surrounding tribes; and, in general, there is much internal peace and courtesy.

But war is the grand occupation of savage life; and, though waged with frantic fury, is prepared with the same deep and solemn deliberation which is bestowed upon all their other concerns. Chateaubriand seems to suppose, that the protection of their hunting-grounds affords the most frequent pretext of hostility; but almost all other authorities agree in considering this a very secondary motive, and revenge as altogether the ruling one. Doubtless they are secretly and

powerfully predisposed to it, by a longing after its fierce and terrible excitement, by the hope of glory which it offers, and by the maxims instilled into them from their infancy that they are to exist only for war. It is the nature of man, as Dr Ferguson observes, "to pine in the lap of ease, and to exult in the midst of alarms that seem to threaten his being." The call to arms, therefore, though it cannot be made with any authority, is instantly, and by all, obeyed with alacrity.* When the war-chief wishes to call out his countrymen, his first movement is to march three times round his winter-house, spreading the great bloody flag, deeply variegated with tints of black. As soon as the young warriors see flying this grand signal of blood and death, they crowd round him to listen to the oration by which he is to rouse their courage. "Brethren," says he, "the blood of our countrymen is yet unavenged; their bones lie uncovered; their spirits cry out to us from the tomb, and must be heard. Youths, arise! anoint your hair, paint your faces, cause the forests to resound with your songs, console the spirits of the dead, by the assurance that they shall be avenged. Youths! follow me while I march through the war-path to surprise our enemies, to eat their flesh, to drink their blood, to tear them limb from limb! We will return in triumph, or, if we perish, this belt will be the monument of our valour." He then throws down on the floor the belt, or collar of wampum, the grand symbol of Indian policy.

* Adair, 380.

Many a hand would wish to lift it up; but this were presumptuous in any one, except a warrior of high fame, who thereupon becomes second in command of the expedition. Then begin the preparations, which consist, not, as with us, of arms, funds, or ammunition, but of solemn observances to propitiate the great spirit and the genii who preside over the Indian destinies. The chief is painted black from head to foot, and commences a fast of several days, not the luxurious abstinence of the Catholic devotee, but a thorough and genuine fast. Lest this should not sufficiently extenuate his frame, he drinks the great war-medicine, consisting of a decoction of consecrated herbs and roots, and operating as a brisk emetic. During this period his attention is exclusively fixed on his dreams, which are to portend all that is hid in the secrets of fate respecting the approaching conflict. The whole train of his slumbers is therefore submitted to the sages and old men, and according to them it is fixed whether war shall be, and in what shape or scale. In almost every instance the decision is made in favour of the projected hostilities. The chief then, having passed through this important train of trial, washes off the deep coating of black in which he has been invested. A huge fire is kindled in the centre of the village, and the great war-cauldron placed on it, into which every warrior throws something; and each of the allies, who have been prevailed upon to join the expedition, sends something to be thrown into it. Lastly, the sacred dog is loosened from the post to which he had been bound, and, being sacrificed to Areskoui, the god of war, is boiled in the

cauldron, to form the chief dish at the great war-festival. To it are admitted only the warriors and counsellors, all females being excluded; and the dog is eaten in deep silence. During this succession of ceremonies, the experienced members are in a state of incessant and watchful anxiety, well knowing, that omission or irregularity in the slightest particular will draw down the wrath of the great spirit, and convert this hopeful enterprise into a source of the deepest calamity. But if the omens continue good, they begin at last to fit themselves for immediate departure. The chief paints himself, not as before, in one deep gloomy tint of black, but in various colours, at once brilliant and terrible. He, and each warrior after him, sings his war-song, and then dances his war-dance, in which they at once narrate and act over again those deeds of their former life in which they place their glory. It is now time for the final equipment. The bow and quiver, or carbine, is suspended from the left shoulder, the tomahawk from the left hand, and the scalping-knife is stuck in the girdle. The *manitous*, or objects chosen by each warrior for his guardian power, are collected and placed in a box, which has been considered as a species of ark, and intrusted to the guardianship of one of the most distinguished chiefs. The women, mean time, have been busily negotiating the means of gratifying their vengeance and appeasing the manes of their lost relations. More tender feelings arise as the moment comes when the warriors are to depart, perhaps to return no more, but to become victims of the same dreadful fate which they are imprecating on others. The chief having

made a short final harangue, each warrior departs singing his death-song; after which they proceed in deep silence. The women follow to a considerable distance. When the separation comes, they exchange the most tender names, with ardent wishes for their return and success; and each receives some object, which has been long worn by the other, to serve as a memorial, should this be the final parting.

Before commencing operations, the Indians fulfil one of the laws of nations, by making an open declaration of war. This can be transmitted by none of the channels usual among civilized nations; but they have one of their own. A herald, painted black, bears a red tomahawk, on one side of which are represented figures, indicating the cause for which war has been undertaken. He reaches the principal village, enters at midnight, throws it down, and disappears like a phantom. Fair warning being thus given to the threatened party, there is an end to all frank and open proceedings,—the war is henceforth one continued stratagem, in which each party seeks only to circumvent and surprise the other.

While the Indians continue in their own country, they straggle in small parties for the convenience of hunting, still holding communication by loud cries of birds and beasts, which they can imitate in perfection. None ever fail of joining the rendezvous on the frontier. The skill with which they trace their path through the trackless woods has been particularly noted. The slightest indications, such as would never attract the notice of an European, enable them to find a sure path through the boundless monotony of the western

forests. Equal is their skill in tracing the print of each other's steps, even over the yielding grass, where scarcely a trace of them remains. They even boast, that they can know by inspection the impression made by the feet of each nation and tribe. No less art is used to evade the discoveries thus made. They walk as much as possible in the water, along the margin of marshes or rivers, on the trunks of fallen trees, or wherever the foot makes the least impression. To conceal, at least, their numbers, a large body walks in file, one behind the other, each placing his foot on the print made by his forerunner; while the largest foot of the company brings up the rear; by which management a large body appears as if only one man. They sometimes fix on their feet the hoof of the buffalo and the paw of the bear, and run for miles the winding course usual with those animals. Their efforts are now incessant to surprise and cut off their enemies. They send forth from the depth of woods the cries of the animals which are the favourite objects of national hunting. When they have taken a prisoner, they paint his body, and set him against a tree in the attitude of a spy, lying in wait for the enemy coming to surprise him in this position.

These little movements are only preliminary to the grand object of surprising a village, and, if possible, the principal village of the enemy. Towards it all their steps tend, as they steal, like silent ghosts, through the darkest depth of the most unfrequented forests. Having approached it, they cast a hasty glance from the top of a tree, and then shroud themselves in the thickest cover. Amid repeated and fa-

tal experience, the Indians have never adopted the obvious precaution of stationing nightly sentinels. The *manitous*, or guardian powers, enclosed in the holy ark of war, are held strictly responsible that the midnight peace of the camp or village shall not be disturbed. Their frequent and flagrant failures, though they cause individual *manitous* to be discarded and exchanged for others, never shake the general trust reposed in them. The enemy, therefore, when they have reached a covert spot unseen during the day, have the satisfaction of beholding the village before them sunk into the deepest slumber. They continue in close watch till the hour just before daybreak, when all is usually sunk into the deepest silence. At this moment they begin slowly, flat on their faces and guarding carefully against the slightest noise, to creep towards their enemies. When they fortunately reach the spot without any alarm being given, the chief, by a shrill cry, gives the signal, and, after a general discharge of arrows, they rush on with the war-club and tomahawk. The air echoes with the sound of the death-whoop and the war-whoop. The savage aspect of the combatants; their faces painted black and red, and soon streaming with blood; their frightful and united yells, soon make it seem as if the tenants of the infernal world had arisen. The victims, too late aroused, spring from their fatal slumber; and, having before their eyes that most dreadful of human fates which awaits the captive, make almost superhuman struggles for deliverance. The horrible contest rages with all the fury of revenge and despair; but it is short. The surprised

party, amazed and confounded, seldom seek to rally, but fly with wild speed to the nearest marsh, and seek shelter in its most inaccessible depths. With the victors, the first and favourite object is to take prisoners alive,—it is well known for what fatal purpose; but, if this is impossible, the tomahawk or the club despatches them on the spot. Then, placing a foot on the neck of his fallen enemy, the Indian draws out his scalping-knife, which is carefully kept in high condition. He cuts round the head; and, by a few movements, in little more than a minute he has detached the skin and hair, and lodged in his bag that proudest war-trophy.

Their purpose now fulfilled with greater or less success, the warriors return to their native village, where the women and aged men await them in longing expectation. Even in approaching, they announce, by well-known sounds, the fate of the expedition. The evil tidings come first. A herald in front, for every warrior who has fallen, sounds the death-whoop, a shrill lengthened note rising at the end into an elevated key. An interval is then allowed to elapse, that the sad tidings may reach the village, and communicate the grief which they naturally tend to excite. Then rises the loud inspiring note of the war-whoop, which, by each repetition, announces the number of captives whom they are bringing in triumph. The dreadful joy which these signals excite banishes for the moment all trace of the preceding lamentation. The inhabitants form themselves into two rows, through which the prisoner is led, with his face painted, and crowned with flowers, as for a fes-

tival. As he passes, every one studiously beats and torments him, only taking care that no vital part shall be struck. A council is now held on his fate, whether he shall expire in the most frightful tortures, or shall be adopted into the nation, and saluted as a brother. The last alternative is usually adopted in regard to youthful prisoners, or such as are new to the field. These are distributed to the women, that they may supply out of them the blanks which war has made in their family; that they may make the youth a husband or a son, as circumstances require. He is then treated with the utmost tenderness, his wounds are cured,—no distinction is ever after made between him and the rest of the tribe. He even goes out to war against his former countrymen; and to go over to them and desert his new ties is considered an act of peculiar baseness. But if he be a veteran warrior, on whose breast and arms there has been painted, in blue tints, with pointed fish-bone, a record of slaughtered enemies, a darker purpose is formed. He is invested in mocassins of black bear's-skin, and a flaming torch placed over his head,—the sure seals of his death-warrant. He is now intrusted to the female members of the tribe, who seem transformed into so many raging furies; yet, that their conduct may not appear wholly without a parallel, Adair refers to that of the most delicate ladies of rank at Lisbon, led by their priests to a religious *auto da fe:* when their shouts of infernal triumph appeared to him to match those of their sister-savages in the west. The victim, however, before the fatal scene begins, is allowed a short interval to sing his death-

song, which he begins cool and triumphant. With joy he goes to the world of souls, to join his great ancestors, who set to him the high example of fighting and suffering. He recounts his heroic exploits; he recounts, above all, those members of the hostile tribe around him who have fallen under his hand; and, if he has been present and an actor in a similar scene of torture against them, he proudly recalls it. His hatred against them is inextinguishable. He laments that he cannot devour their flesh and drink their blood to the last drop. The song is then taken up by the female, to glut whose vengeance he has been especially consigned. She invokes the spirit of her husband or her son, who has fallen in battle or died amid tortures, to come now, and be at last appeased. A feast should be prepared for him; the blood of a warrior should be poured out; his scalp should be torn from his head; he should be thrown into the war-caldron; let the dead, therefore, cease to complain. The captive is then tied to a post, and allowed a certain range, within which, while the brand, the hatchet, and every studied engine of torture, are applied to him, he may repel, and even attack. He struggles fiercely in the unequal strife, and, while his frame is consuming in agony, he still defies his tormentors, and outbraves even death itself. Some even tell their tormentors that they are old women, who know not how to torture a warrior, and boast how much more effectually they themselves have done so to various individuals of their tribe. A very few, by almost incredible efforts, break through the circle, and effect their escape. Nor are instances wanting when na-

ture prevails, and symptoms of agony, and even shrieks, escape from the overwhelmed sufferer; whereupon shouts of exulting laughter burst from the surrounding circle. At length the dreadful tragedy closes; and the scalp, if it remain, is taken off, and lodged among their military trophies. The victims are not, however, eaten; though this has been asserted by authors of note, and expressions are even current among them which seem to indicate such a purpose; but they are either the remnants of ancient usage, or vague threats of total destruction.*

Neighbouring tribes may be considered as nearly in a state of permanent war. Nevertheless they conclude occasionally what they call peace, though it is more properly to be considered as a "hollow truce." Pride, however, makes them disdain to make the first advances. These are usually managed by the chiefs of a neutral power, who set out along with those of one of the belligerents. The sacred pipe of peace is the grand instrument of negotiation among the Indians, who remain impressed with the salutary belief, that the Great Spirit never forgives those who violate its pledge. The negotiation consists rather in presents, speeches, and ceremonies, than in any demands which they have to make upon each other; for they have no property out of which a tribute can be demanded; nor is it customary, even in cases of the most decided victory, to require any cession of territory, or change of hunting ground. It has some-

* Adair. Charlevoix. Carver, 331, &c. Chateaubriand.

times indeed been demanded that the vanquished party should put on petticoats, and wear them for a certain period, in token of a subjugation which has sunk them below the level of manhood. When, however, the nation thus humbled retains any portion of energy, the humiliation of this apparel usually rouses them to extraordinary exertions, which render them often more terrible than ever to their once victorious neighbours.

The first travellers among the interior Indians received the impression that they were a people without religion, because they saw neither priests, temples, images, nor sacrifices. This impression, which has often been suggested by a first view of savage life, was completely refuted by more intimate observation. It was then discovered that their whole life and all their actions were under the entire guidance of what they think religion. They have a supreme deity, whom they call the Great Spirit, or the Master of Life, to whose favour or anger they impute all the good or evil which life presents to them.* They address him for their daily support; they suppose themselves to derive from him their presence of mind in battle; at the stake they thank him for the courage with which he inspires them. Their preparation for war, as we have seen, is one continued round of religious ceremony, and their march is equally under the guidance of superior spirits. When they depart on a hunting party, the same course of

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* Long, 139.

fasting, physic, and dreaming, is observed on a small scale. They have no idea of such a thing as chance, or the fortune of war. They are not even strangers to spiritual pride. Europeans are called by them the men of the accursed speech; while they value themselves as "the beloved of the Great Spirit." Though their religion thus comprises some lofty elements, and may seem at first sight to be purer than that of more civilized people, it is soon found to partake most amply of the imperfections of all the religions of nature. Along with the Great Spirit they worship the Great Hare, or rather, perhaps, these are one and the same; for this is a point on which neither travellers, nor perhaps the Indians themselves, seem to have very clear ideas. But, besides this great being, each individual has his Oka or Manitou, consisting of the head, beak, or claw of a bird, the hoof of a cow, and every the most insignificant object. Each youth, before he is recorded in the list of warriors, must have secured his Manitou. He is made to fast for several days, and careful note taken of his dreams; in the course of which some object or other usually makes a deep and peculiar impression upon his mind. This is fixed as his Manitou or guardian power, and a good specimen of it is procured. The youth then, after a thorough perspiration produced in one of their large vapour-baths, is laid on his back, and the figure of the Manitou is pricked on his breast with ten needles of fish-bone, dipt in vermilion; the intervals are then rubbed with gunpowder, so as to produce a mixture of red and blue. They now call out, "Master of Life, look on us well; receive a brother

warrior;" and the newly-initiated enters upon all the privileges and dignity of that character.

When the Indians have been overtaken by any disaster, which appears to them to be the work of the Great Spirit, or the Great Hare, they submissively resign themselves to it, and only inquire what dire omission in the long round of trifling observances has drawn down his displeasure. But if the Manitou is believed to be implicated, the whole blame is laid upon him, and very sharp remonstrances are addressed to him on the subject. It is demanded of him what benefit he expects in thus neglecting the interest of the person who has chosen him as a guardian, and from whom alone he receives food, worship, and offerings. He is told of the disgrace which must fall upon him from every mishap which he allows to overtake the person under his protection. Finally, warning is given, that, unless more satisfaction be obtained in future, another Manitou will be chosen in his place, and who then will supply him with food, worship, and offerings? If the Manitou continues incorrigible, this threat is fulfilled. A new course of fasting and dreaming is gone through; in the course of which the vision is obtained of another Manitou, which, being painted in red and blue on the breast of the warrior, and the former as much as possible effaced, becomes henceforth the object of his veneration and confidence.

A future life, the fond hope of man, even under the tuition of nature, was an idea familiar to the Indians. They firmly believed in a country of souls, which they were to inhabit hereafter. Man, even the

most uninstructed, cannot contemplate the thinking principle within him, without feeling that it is something wholly different from that material world which he sees around him. Yet, when he begins to form a distinct idea of this soul or spirit, he cannot escape being re-entangled in sensible images. When pressed to explain, they describe it as a shadow or image of the body; but, when examined as to its occupations and enjoyments, they are all the same which belong to its present form and sphere of existence. The land of souls is a fair country, far in the west, with wide plains and extensive forests, and abounding in all the animals which are the objects of the chase. Happily they do not transport their wars and vengeance to it. The souls, before they can arrive at this country, must perform a journey of several months, must pass over some very lofty mountains, cross a broad river, and often defend themselves against a furious dog. These two last images must recall Styx and Cerberus; but the mountains are probably the Rocky Chain, the western boundary of the great plain of interior America.

Superstitious ideas, excited by natural impressions, are common to the Americans, with other unenlightened races. All the mighty features of nature are deemed to have a *genius loci* which presides over them. On arriving at the immense expanse of Lake Superior, the mighty roar of the Niagara, and even the smaller falls of St Anthony, offerings are made of objects deemed costly or valuable. Even difficult and dangerous passes are covered with skins, bones, pieces of metal, and bodies of dogs killed and hung

by the feet. There does not seem to be much absolute vision of ghosts, though examples of this are by no means wanting; it is generally believed, however, that the deceased does not set out immediately for the country of souls, but continues for some time to hover round his earthly remains. They are apprehensive, therefore, that the spirit of those whom they have tortured may be on the watch to do them mischief, and study, by beating all round with rods, and raising the most frightful cries, to scare it away. Even the souls of their countrymen do not finally depart for their western home till after the festival of the dead. This most singular celebration takes place at intervals of about a year; and on this occasion the whole nation, and often their allies, are assembled. The whole tribe then proceed in a body to the burial-place, open the tombs, and, on coming in view of the mortal remains enclosed, remain fixed for some time in solemn and religious silence. At length the women break forth into the most lamentable cries, and they then begin to collect the bones, separating any remains of flesh which may still adhere to them. These bones are then wrapped in the finest skins, and conveyed, amid continued mourning, to their home, where each is deposited in the cabin of the family. Then begins a round of feasts, dances, songs, games, and prize-combats, which do not seem much in harmony with the solemn object; but every motion and sound are said to bear the stamp of woe; and we may remember, that games in honour of the dead were a classical observance. After a few days thus spent, the dead are publicly exhibited in the hall

of council, with the presents destined for them; and sometimes they are carried about from village to village. At length they are borne in solemn procession to a long pit, previously prepared, and, with their gifts and ornaments, are lodged, amid cries and lamentations, in this final abode. The women lay down food on the grave for several days, which, it is supposed, may elapse previous to their departure for the land of souls.

While the French were in the occupation of Canada, their religious orders, with a zeal which must merit some share of praise, sent out numerous missionaries for the conversion of the natives. They published even pompous accounts of whole nations baptized and converted. The more judicious, however, even among themselves, admit, that this conversion was neither more nor less than a simple profanation of the ordinances of religion. The Indians readily let themselves be baptized six times a-day for a glass of brandy or a pound of tobacco. They learned by heart the prayers and litanies, and repeated them as they did songs. They thankfully accepted crucifixes and beads, which were hung round their necks as toys. The footing on which the communion was dispensed may appear from what is mentioned by a missionary, who asked an Indian if he had not found it very comfortable, when the Indian replied, "Yes, Sir, it was certainly very good, but brandy is better." After these conversions, therefore, the Indians were exactly the same people as before, fixed in their original ideas, ignorant or indifferent as to all that was told them by the missionaries. Those who wished to give them

any real instruction found a great obstacle in their politeness. They listened with attention to the most copious expositions of Christian doctrine, saying, these were good words,—that was true,—they were much obliged to them for telling all this. When, however, the missionary thought them in a fair train of conversion, they began in continuance to relate the dreams inspired to them by the Great Hare, the protection afforded by the Manitou, which they showed painted on their breasts, and the length of the journey to the land of souls. When the missionary told them that these were ridiculous fables, their wrath was kindled; they appealed to him whether such language was not very uncivil, and very contrary to theirs, who had given an implicit assent to things that appeared to them the most strange and incredible. Others did not wholly retract their first declaration, but said, that these things were good for those people who lived on the other side of the great lake (the sea), but that a land of souls, where there would be abundance of fat animals, was what alone suited the Indians. The missionaries were therefore obliged to confine themselves to baptizing children, and sometimes grown people at the point of death, which, according to their superstitious ideas, ensured their future well-being. A suspicion became prevalent, that the French were carrying them away to serve as their slaves in the future world; and one parent, on seeing his dying child about to be baptized, made strict inquiry, whether, in the world to which they were conveying him, there would be good hunting? On being told, that there would be no animal whatever, he asked, what then

there would be to eat? but on being informed that there was to be no eating, all his politeness forsook him, and he exclaimed, "Oh what a lie! how can a man live without eating?"*

Although the French thus failed in the accomplishment of any serious conversion, they were yet allowed to live in the Indian villages, and respected as spirits or sorcerers, who could do and say wonderful things. They acquired thus a certain influence, which they are said to have very zealously employed in promoting the political views of the French crown. Both Adair and Carver speak of it as notorious, that they had drawn up what these writers call "the bloody catechism," in which the Indians were taught, that it was the English who had put our Saviour to death, having intercepted him on his way to teach the Five Nations how to become masters of all America. Long, who travelled after the French had lost sway over Canada, seems somewhat sceptical as to this horrid imputation, and says, that he saw several villages which had been sensibly improved by the efforts of the French missionaries. He laments to say, that those sent out by Britain had been at least not more successful. They appear to have accompanied the fur-traders, and, in many instances, to have been infected by the irregular habits of that class of persons. At least, the conduct of those traders, and the articles brought with them, much more than neutralized any effect derived from their instructions. When, therefore, Governor Hun-

* Charlevoix, let. 24, 15. Hennepin. Chateaubriand, Lettres Edifiantes.

ter assembled a number of Indian chiefs, to assure them of the friendly disposition of his Britannic majesty, who had sent a present of a number of pieces of fine cloth, and would also send preachers to instruct them in the duties of religion, the chief replied, that they were exceedingly obliged to his majesty for the fine cloths; but that as to preachers, they had already more than enough, and that the people learned nothing from them but to drink, quarrel, and cheat.

The Indians, as to cultivation and the useful arts, are in the very infancy of social existence. Kalm reckons that their villages are seldom less than sixteen or eighteen miles from each other, and only a little space round each is slightly turned up with the hoe; so that they scarcely make any impression on the unbroken immensity of forest. Through these forests they hunt with singular dexterity and skill, though rather as an adventure and an object of glory than as a branch of industry. The great hunter ranks second to the great warrior; and, before setting out on his grand expeditions, he prepares himself by a similar course of fasting, dreaming, and religious observance. Manufactures being an object of less urgent necessity, are in a still less advanced state. Yet the floor of their hovels is often spread with mats of considerable fineness,—the work of their women. The belt or collar of wampum is ranked by them as the most precious of their works. It is formed of a beautiful species of shell, brought from the coast to a great distance into the interior. These shells being sawed into oblong beads, are strung upon cords of leather, which, being sewed together by sinewy

threads, form belts or collars, as they are frequently called, from being worn round the neck. They serve not merely or chiefly for ornament, but are the grand medium of all treaties and transactions throughout America. Every argument and every stipulation has a bead or portion of the belt appropriated to it; and abstract conceptions receive thus a sensible image, fixing them in the mind of the savage, from which they would otherwise evaporate. The calumet, or pipe of peace, is also an object of the most careful workmanship. It is on a quite different scale from ours, being three or four feet long. The bowl is of the finest stone, and sometimes of marble, while the handle, of a fine light wood, bears carefully carved or painted upon it all the warlike exploits of its owner. He adorns it, moreover, with a profusion of beautiful feathers, to which, if his exploits can enable him to add a painted scalp, it becomes then a truly proud and superlative ornament. But the ornamental art which is pursued with the greatest ardour is painting, especially that description of which the human skin is the canvass. It is far from being merely an ornamental art; the hieroglyphic figures which it delineates form their only writing, the chronicle of their history, the record of their glories. The bare bosoms and arms of a warrior tell the battles he has fought, —the scalps he has taken, the whole story of his achievements. The colours are rubbed in with powder composed of coloured earth, or the pounded bark of trees, and though not very brilliant, are extremely durable. Baskets, very skilfully made of swamp

cane, and bows and arrows, the finest in the world, are also enumerated among their works.

It is rare that music and song, under some of their forms, do not find access to the most savage breast. By the Indians they are employed as the vehicle of all their great emotions. It is essential to every Indian, that he should have his song of war, and his song of death; and there are moments of his life fixed for the recitation of each. His own exploits, the enemies he has slaughtered, scalped, tortured, these are the perpetual burdens of his lay. Each man for himself moulds his heroic deeds into song; and hence they rise of course to very varying degrees of excellence. The language as well as the music rather expresses the passions decidedly and deeply, than is adorned with the brilliant colours of imagination. Nor is the Indian lyre a stranger to the softer lays of love. These abound with allusions to the objects of nature, but are framed in an artificial and almost oriental taste. Long gives the following song of courtship:—"Father, I love your daughter; will you give her to me, that the small roots of her heart may entangle mine, so that the strongest wind that blows shall never separate them?" He adds the following song of a maiden:—"It is true, I love him only whose heart is like the sweet sap that runs from the sugar-tree, and is brother to the aspen-leaf, that always lives and shivers."

The dance forms an essential element in the existence of an Indian. It is the grand celebration at all their festivals, the prelude to their war, their hunting,

and all their grand undertakings,—the expression of their triumph. Like the music and song which it accompanies, it studies to express at once the movements of their souls and their memorable exploits. They give here a full representation of living and real war, and perform all the movements of seizing, scalping, and torturing their enemy, at the same time sounding the war-whoop, and setting up the most hideous yells. Carver, who wished to conciliate them, once joined in this performance; but, as naked tomahawks were brandished on all sides, without the least consideration of what course they might take, he felt his situation exceedingly uncomfortable. The Indians themselves took a pride in the dexterity with which they evaded the peril; but to him it seemed as if every moment bid fair to be his last, till he got happily out of the circle, which he was careful never to re-enter. The dance of the calumet, in sign of peace and perfect amity, is the only one which greatly pleases the European eye; but it is introduced only upon high and solemn occasions. A good deal has been said of the black dance, in which the devil rises and becomes the chief performer; but Europeans have been able to give an account of this only from very imperfect hearsay.

The social and domestic life of the Indians, when closely viewed, were regarded by travellers, on the whole, in a favourable light.—"We perceive in them," says Charlevoix, "the passions and appetites of beasts of prey joined to a virtue which does honour to human nature." Their intense and devoted attachment, indeed, to their own community became a mixed and

doubtful quality when it was connected with and inspired so fearful a hatred of every other. Yet it certainly preserved in their daily and domestic intercourse a degree of harmony, and even cordiality, which we are not accustomed to observe in much more polished societies. The universal license arising from the absence of all government and police was far from generating those dreadful consequences, which would be reasonably expected from the populace of our own country, if placed in such a situation. They were remarked, in particular, for the most liberal sharing of the little they possessed with their friends, their countrymen, and even with the passing stranger. They viewed with equal dislike and contempt the selfish appropriation made by Europeans, and their lives spent in the ceaseless study of accumulating property. It was admitted that Europeans had many good things, which, in the hands of those who, like the Indians, knew how to use and bestow them, might have been of real value; but, as it was, they were only a subject of perpetual anxiety from the constant fear of losing them. The eager value placed upon gold and silver appeared to them wholly incomprehensible; but when told that for want of those glittering baubles, Britons were immured in dungeons for life, no words could express their contempt for the barbarous race who could be guilty of such an atrocity. The entire personal independence of, which they make their boast was shared even by the children from the moment they emerged from the period of infancy. The mother, even in the event of conduct which she

most disapproves, never pretends any right to forbid or even to chide. The only step she takes is to burst into tears, and exclaim that her daughter will disgrace her; and so powerful is this appeal, that girls have been known after it to go away and drown themselves. In general, the youths, from what they see and hear, imbibe all the sentiments of this savage community, and require no invitation to tread with ardour in the steps of their fathers. Charlevoix accuses them of a want of filial duty; but the instances given are only those in which chance throws them into the ranks of opposite tribes, when the national seems to prevail over the domestic tie. One having met his father in battle, was about to pierce him, till, recognizing who he was, he said,—"You once gave me life, and I have returned the obligation; we are quit; take care how you meet me again." Generally, however, their aged and sick relations are kindly treated, and supported with tender care. It is only among the northern tribe of the Chippeways that they come to the very opposite extremity of putting them to death. Although this conduct has doubtless for its motive at bottom the difficulty of maintaining and conveying them from place to place, it is carried through with much show of kindness and many solemn religious ceremonies. After a course of sweating, smoking, and fasting, followed by a great dog-feast, they say, —"We devote our father to the Master of Life, that he may find himself young in another country, and be able to hunt."

Among all the nations of Canada and the Upper Mississippi, the forms and ideas were strictly repub-

lican, and the dependence of one man upon another was held in utter contempt. But the emotions and feelings of the savage are all in extremes; and when he has bent the knee to a chief, he serves with an entire and devoted veneration unknown to the subject of the most absolute civilized monarchy. The most complete example, and on the greatest scale, was afforded by the nation of the Natchez, on the Lower Mississippi. The entire disposal which the chief possessed of the lives, properties, and all that belonged to the nation, was not at all the result of force,—the submission was spontaneous and religious. The sun, whose orb in these southern regions blazed so bright, had been raised to the rank of supreme deity; it was in his name and as his children that the chiefs of the Natchez were venerated, not as earthly but divine rulers. The grand chief, when he left his cabin in the morning, saluted his great parent with three howls, and the calumet being put into his hand, he blew its smoke in the face of that high luminary. Every time he met any of his subjects, they saluted him with a similar triple howl, and either ranged themselves in rows as he passed, or retired with their faces always turned towards him. But they had a still deeper and thoroughly savage mode of expressing their devotion to him. At his death a certain favourite number obtained, by long solicitation, the right of accompanying and continuing to serve him in the land of souls. The victims thus favoured danced on the scaffold with their faces painted, and with every sign of festive rejoicing. Those who executed the sentence drew the cord in unison with a song, in which they

celebrated their felicity in being allowed thus to devote themselves. A number of parents also strangled their children, and carried them in pride and pomp to the place of interment.

This despotism, founded upon ignorance and superstition, all barbarous as it appears to us, was yet a step in the career of civilization. The territory of the Natchez was more highly cultivated than that of the free Americans; their mats were finer; their paintings, whether on wood or on the skin, were more skilful. Chateaubriand cannot believe that much progress could have been made in these arts, when all was to be done for the sole benefit of a ruler; but the attachment to this ruler formed a sentiment, the force of which equalled or exceeded that of private interest among us. The Natchez loved war, but they did not carry it to the dreadful extremities which prevail among the nations on the lakes. To this might be added, in general, more humane and polished habits, likely to survive the degrading servitude by which they had been originally formed.

Of the nations who in this chapter have been described as present, the greater part are now passed, and for ever. The Five Nations, with the Hurons, the Algonquins, and all the neighbours whom they made to tremble, have nearly disappeared from the face of the earth.

It seems difficult to account for an extinction so total of so many brave and determined tribes. The wars which they waged with Europeans, though attended with some brilliant successes, could not, amid the inequality of arms and discipline, but be on the

whole unfortunate. New diseases were introduced, which, being healed only upon the rough system of plunging into the nearest stream, could not but be most disastrous. But that which above all has broken up their whole social system is the introduction of the European poison—brandy. The eagerness which, amid a monotonous life, arises for some violent excitement, finds a gratification in the use of this powerful and deleterious stimulant which no Indian seems to have been able to resist. They seem also to have had no idea of enjoying it unless in its very utmost excess. The historian of New England mentions, that when a party had procured a quantity of brandy, not sufficient thoroughly to intoxicate the whole, they cast lots who should drink, and those who were rejected thought it more edifying to see others get dead-drunk than to get moderately drunk themselves. Volney saw them only in the state of degradation to which they were reduced by having surrendered themselves wholly to this fatal propensity. He met them assembled at Vincennes to sell the produce of their red hunt, when, even in the morning, men and women were wandering through the streets only to procure brandy; selling first the produce of their hunt, then their trinkets, then their clothes, and never ceasing to drink till they had entirely lost the use of their faculties. He could not go out without seeing them by dozens wallowing in the mire like hogs, and too often not without witnessing broken heads or stabs with a knife. To this unfavourable point of view may probably be ascribed the very dark picture of the native Indians, drawn by this eminent observer.

CHAPTER IX.

AMERICA BEFORE AND AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

General Progress of the Colonies.—Comparative State before and after the Revolution.—Kalm,—Burnaby,—Smith,—Chastellux, —Rochefoucault.—Progress of Agriculture,—of Commerce,— Society and Manners.—Imbittered Hostility of the two Parties.

FROM the happy era of the British Revolution, in 1688, the American colonies, being established in the same state of political freedom, and in the same full security of person and property which was enjoyed by the mother country, proceeded in a steady and rapid career of improvement. Their own numbers, as always happens where there is a perfect facility of subsistence, rapidly multiplied; and the influx of emigrants from the mother country was more ample and continuous than ever. These did not, as formerly, seek the western world as a gloomy refuge from wrong and persecution. They came in the hope to improve their circumstances, to escape from the pressure of care and difficulty, and to acquire that dignified position which arises from the possession of property in the soil. Escaped now from the vicissitudes and hardships which had pressed so severely on the early settlers,

they began to cultivate all the arts of life, and to assume the regular aspect of an European community. Their cities now resembled handsome English county towns,—their towns were good villages,—and even in the depth of woodland which still covered the interior, farms and cleared spots were interspersed at considerable but diminishing intervals.

The population of America in 1775, according to an estimate published by Congress, amounted to 3,137,869. In 1783, however, a new enumeration, made with a view of apportioning the burden of taxation, gave only 2,389,300.* There might be some diminution in the course of so severe a contest, where so great an extent of the states became successively the theatre of war; but it was not probably so remarkable as these estimates would infer. At the first era, it was doubtless contemplated to present to Europe as imposing an aspect as possible, as well as to encourage the Americans themselves to rally round the standard of independence; while the last, though made with more care, being yet for a purpose anxiously shunned, would probably in vain attempt to prevent many from escaping its comprehensive sweep. The distribution in the principal states was as follows:—

	1775.	1783.
New Hampshire, -	150,000	82,500
Massachussetts, -	400,000	350,000
Rhode Island, -	59,678	50,400

* Smith, ii. 413-14

	1775.	1783.
Connecticut, - -	192,000	206,000
New York, -	250,000	200,000
New Jersey, -		130,000
Pennsylvania,. -	350,000	320,000
Delaware, -		35,000
Maryland, -	320,000	220,700
Virginia, - -	650,000	400,000
North Carolina, -	300,000	200,000
South Carolina, -		170,000
Georgia, - -		25,000

A people who had risen so rapidly to so considerable a height, who possessed natural resources so vast, and saw themselves in a regular progress to become one of the greatest nations in the world, could scarcely fail to become fretful under the yoke of a mother country situated at the distance of three thousand miles. Amid the very liberal constitutions which had been granted to the colonies, one grand question had been left undecided, Was the legislature of Great Britain, or was it not, supreme over the American states? Whenever this question came under discussion, it was evident that the political existence of the latter entirely hinged upon it. If the parliament of Great Britain held jurisdiction over the colonial assemblies, the latter could scarcely be said to have any liberties at all; and yet, if they were entirely independent of that legislature, could the colonies be said to depend upon the mother country, or be capable of any harmonious and united action with it. This dread question was brought rashly

under discussion, by the attempt to make America bear some share of that enormous taxation which she had been very instrumental in creating. But, assuredly, if the Americans had once admitted the right to be taxed by an assembly in which they had not a single representative, their claim to the character of freemen must have become very equivocal. This work is not a history. It does not come within its scope to recount either the steps which led to this terrible rupture, or the memorable events and vicissitudes distinguishing the contest of eight years, which issued in the establishment of American independence. The aim of this chapter is to draw, from the records of a series of intelligent travellers, a picture of what America was during this era, what she was before this revolution, and what she became after. For this object, materials will be afforded by the narratives of Kalm the Swede; Archdeacon Burnaby; Smith, a zealous American loyalist; Chastellux, a French nobleman, who held a considerable command in the auxiliary force sent by his country to aid the American revolution; Brissot and Rochefoucault, eminent and well known French characters, who visited America after it began to breathe from the effects of so long a war. The details of these writers are in a great measure superseded by the rapidly-progressive state of this region; but they are still very interesting, as they fulfil the object already announced, and will enable us to connect the infant steps hitherto observed with the mature and advancing state of these great colonies.

The hand of human cultivation had now made a deep

impression on the once unbroken expanse of the American forest. Rochefoucault considers Massachussetts to be about as well cultivated as France; and generally from five to thirty miles in the interior was now cleared. Cultivation had also extended up the Hudson as far as Albany, which was already become an important seat of interior commerce; and one might advance a hundred miles into the interior without seeing an Indian. The whole range of country, mean time, to the south of the lakes remained still nearly in a state of nature. The county of Onondago, adjoining to Lake Ontario, which contained 1,800,000 acres, did not maintain a population of more than 3000. The agriculture of America, even under its best forms, presented nothing which an European farmer could regard as diligent or meritorious. In some parts of the interior no plough was used, the ground being merely turned up by a harrow with iron teeth four inches long, which, the farmers hesitated not to maintain, was more efficacious. That system, characteristic of the infant state of husbandry, according to which the different parts of a farm were successively cultivated, and allowed to lie waste, very generally prevailed; and, however repugnant to all the ideas of an English farmer, was, as circumstances stood here, perhaps the best policy. There was an ample succession of lands ready to relieve each other; cattle could be pastured in the meadows at scarcely any expense; and there was not a market to pay the cost of high cultivation and the collection of manure. The cultivated and occupied regions along the coast gave forth continually new

settlers to bring the interior under successive culture. Their mode of proceeding is described to resemble much that which is still followed by the emigrants to the western territory. Any man, says the Marquis de Chastellux, who can command twenty-five pounds, may go into the woods, and purchase 150 or 200 acres, which seldom cost more than a dollar a-piece, of which price he pays only a small part in ready money. He begins by felling all the smaller trees, and some strong branches of the larger ones, using them as fences for the first field he wishes to clear. He next boldly attacks those immense oaks or pines which stand as the ancient lords of the territory he is usurping; he strips them of their bark, or lays them open all round with his axe. These trees, mortally wounded, are the next spring robbed of their honours; the leaves no longer spring, the branches fall, and the trunk becomes an hideous skeleton. This trunk seems still to brave the efforts of the colonist; but, wherever the smallest chinks or crevices can be found, they are surrounded by fire, and the flames consume what iron was unable to destroy. This object completed, the ground is cleared; the air and the sun begin to operate upon an earth wholly formed of decomposed vegetables, and teeming with the latent principles of production. The grass grows rapidly, there is pasturage for the cattle the very first year; after which they are left to increase, or fresh ones are bought, and they are employed in tilling a piece of ground which yields the enormous increase of twenty or thirty fold. At the end of four or five years the planter completes the payment of his land,

and finds himself comfortable. Then his dwelling, which at first was no better than a large hut formed of the branches of trees piled above each other, and having their interstices filled with mud, is changed into a handsome wooden house, more convenient and certainly much cleaner than those in the greater part of our small towns. According to Brissot, many of the first adventurers were of desperate fortune and irregular habits, who, when established in the depth of the forests, lived almost in a wild state, allowed their cattle to roam at large, and hunted over all the tracts adjoining. As soon as they found society advancing and drawing its links around them, they sold their domain to a more settled and industrious planter, and sought a station farther in the depth of the interior wilds. The first preaching of the gospel was usually accepted by them as a signal for taking their departure. Instances have been known of persons who have thus successively broken up four different districts.

The planter of Virginia and the Carolinas conducted his operations on a quite different scale and system. He bestowed some pains in laying out the plantation which he had purchased. This done, his next object was to invest all the capital he could command in negroes; upon which unfortunate race he devolved all the labours of the field under this burning climate. The active planter perhaps rose in the cool of the morning, and took a ride round his grounds; but the rest of the day he lay stretched on his pallet, fanned by his negroes, and taking draughts of weak toddy. Many of the estates were extensive, and the planters

lived much in the style of English country gentlemen. The demand in Europe was steady and increasing for the tobacco of Virginia, the rice and cotton of Carolina and Georgia.*

The consequence of the various improvements of this century had been an extraordinary rise in the price of land, which, in the New England districts, sold at thirty or forty dollars an acre; and instances are even mentioned where very fine grass-land brought upwards of a hundred dollars.† Mr Byrd having an extent of 33,000 acres in the Sawra country behind Virginia, sold it in 1761 for £500. The proprietor, however, having taken a dislike to it, Mr Byrd took it back, and then sold it in the same year to Mr Farley for £1000. Mr Farley laid it out in a judicious manner, and in 1772 was offered but refused £28,000 for the same territory. The land, however, in all the back settlements was still excessively cheap. Mr Smith purchased 450 acres of excellent land, with a cleared plantation and a house upon it, for £100.‡ In 1791, Captain Williamson, (supposed agent of Sir William Pulteney) concluded with Mr Morris the purchase of a tract in Genessee, on the borders of Lake Ontario, judged to contain a million of acres, for £50,000. On survey there was found a surplus of 120,000 acres, which the purchaser very handsomely allowed to go along with the rest. Captain Williamson divided this vast possession into

* Smith, i. 41, &c. † Rochefoucault, 17-23-517.
‡ Ib. 152-3.

squares of six miles each, and out of his own funds, or those of his employer, built four towns, erected corn and saw mills, and transported a number of colonists from Germany and Ireland. After first letting the lands at one dollar, he raised the rate gradually to three, and acknowledged, that on 800,000 acres he had cleared £50,000.*

Manufactures throughout the United States, during the whole of this period, could scarcely be said to exist, even in an infant state. The dearness of labour, the general preference for the possession and occupation of land, the cheapness and excellence with which every article could be furnished from the mother country, were all circumstances which would have rendered premature any attempt to establish native fabrics on a great scale. Even the domestic habit in each family, of working up plain cloth for its own use, was unfavourable to the rise of large manufactures. The only attempt of this nature had been made at Hartford, in Connecticut; but though considerable sums had been invested in it, and it wore at one time a promising appearance, Rochefoucault found it in a state of decided decline, and threatening ruin to those who had embarked their capital in it. One exception was the trade of shoemaking at Lynn, where, even in 1795, four hundred thousand pairs of that useful article of dress were annually made. In ship-building also the price of labour was

* Rochefoucault, 128-32.

compensated by the extreme cheapness and ready command of the materials. On the navigable rivers of the Northern States, even New Hampshire and Maine, ships could be built for eight, nine, and ten pounds a ton, and then sold at New York for twelve or thirteen pounds; thus affording an advantageous mode of disposing of the large surplus of timber.* The thread, stockings, and beaver-hats made at Philadelphia, are also noticed with approbation. Brissot mentions sixty-three paper-mills in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware.

The commerce of North America was in a state of rising prosperity, much superior to that of its manufactures. A great part of its productions was raised expressly for foreign consumption, and was sent abroad to be exchanged for the manufactures of Europe, and the luxurious productions of the West Indies. According to Burke, in 1748, there entered the port of Boston, to and from foreign ports only, exclusive of coasting and fishing vessels, inwards, 430 ships,—outwards, 500; New York, inwards, 232, —outwards, 288; Philadelphia, inwards, 303,—outwards, 291. Baltimore was not then of any importance. In 1795, according to Rochefoucault, the vessels which entered Boston from abroad were 725, and the exports, 4,255,000 dollars.

The American navigators were beginning to show the enterprising character which has since made itself

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* Chastellux, i. 38, &c. Rochefoucault, 478, 441, 369, 427. Burnaby, *apud* Pinkerton, xiii. 729-30.

so conspicuous. In 1794, when Brissot wrote, a ship of sixty tons, built at Albany, had made a voyage to the East Indies. That writer estimates the imports of America as follows:—

Rum, brandy, &c.	4,000,000 galls.
Wine, - -	1,000,000
Teas, - -	125,000 lbs.
Coffee, cocoa, &c.	1,500,000
Molasses, -	3,000,000
Sugar, - -	20,000,000
Salt, - -	1,000,000
Other goods, value	20,000,000 dollars.

There were still about twenty vessels, which, notwithstanding the legal prohibition, employed themselves in the slave-trade, carrying negroes from Africa to the West Indies.

The social state of America had also undergone a remarkable change, corresponding in a great measure with that of Europe, from which it was derived, and on which it continued in a great measure to model itself. In the northern states, that extreme and intolerant rigour, which had characterized its religious founders, had been greatly softened down. Boston was no longer a scene of schism and persecution. The most complete freedom of religious worship was established in that city. The citizens appeared to Brissot to unite simplicity of morals with a portion of French politeness and delicacy of manners. Neatness, without luxury, characterized their appearance. The inside of a church in Boston appeared to him to

present a very edifying spectacle, the men substantially dressed in good cloth coats, the women in chintzes and calicoes. Philadelphia had made such a progress in population and wealth, that it seems generally considered at this time the capital of America. The austere plainness of the original Quaker establishment was by this time much diluted by the mixture of various classes and denominations; and, indeed, Brissot complains that the ladies not Quaker wore dresses almost as showy and expensive as those of the Parisian belles. There were even the ordinary amusements of great cities, though carried on not only with strict order and decorum, but under a system of rigid regulation, which to the Marquis de Chastellux,* a gay French nobleman, appeared much to intrench on the ease and enjoyment of the company. The managers decided with what lady each gentleman was to dance, and required him to remain attached to her during the whole night; they fixed the tune, the figure of the dance, the station which each was to hold; they exercised an almost despotic sway. One of them, seeing a young lady engaged in conversation, and neglecting the figure of the dance, indignantly called out, "Pray, madam, do you think you came here for your pleasure?" New York, though prosperous and flourishing, and adorned with many elegant buildings, had not yet taken quite the prominent place among the cities of America at which it has since arrived. Bradbury, in 1759,

* Travels, i. 277-3.

found much of the old plain, frugal Dutch spirit; but to Brissot, twenty years after, New York appeared altogether English, and the citizens to rival the splendour and profusion which reign in the great cities of the mother country.

In Virginia and the other southern colonies an entirely opposite tone of manners was found to prevail. The planters, enabled by the labour of their slaves to live in plenty and in proud indolence, had acquired much the habit of English country squires. They eagerly followed all those pursuits which by uncultivated minds are accounted pleasure; gaming, hunting, horseracing, and with peculiar ardour cock-fighting. Some, however, made a better use of their leisure, and became men of enlarged and enlightened minds, as was fully proved by the eminent statesmen whom Virginia produced, and who took the lead in managing the affairs of the Union. An hospitable and liberal spirit prevailed to a remarkable degree, and much more than in the north. If any one, even a slave, was passing an orchard, he was welcome to pluck the fruit, and the proprietor, if he chanced to pass by, instead of showing any displeasure, would assist him to pick out the best. As soon as the planter learned that a gentleman of any decent appearance had pitched his quarters in the neighbouring inn, he seldom failed to bring or send a pressing tender of the superior accommodations under his own roof; to which he cheerfully added, ample opportunity of hard drinking. The curiosity of the Virginians was extreme and annoying; yet it did not amount altogether to that rigid and merci-

less inquisition, as to the name, calling, destination, and tidings of the traveller, which was so fully established in the northern states.

The manners now described were those of the coast, of cities and towns, or of their not very remote vicinity. In the back-settlements, especially of Virginia and Carolina, the occupants, destitute of religious and moral instruction, and remote from every scene of social refinement, had sunk into a state of barbarism, and almost of brutality. Smith, who spent some time among them, was perfectly disgusted by the coarse practical jokes in which their sole delight consisted. Seeing that he had a favourite cat, they cut off its ears and tail. This they called *fun;* and when it chanced to kitten, they cut off the ears and tail of all its young. This they called *high.* The females in this neighbourhood were extremely handsome; but could not, he conceives, be considered otherwise than as beautiful savages. Among other frolics he mentions, that, living once with a Mr Glen, he went to bathe with him in the river, when his wife and her sister, both young and handsome, ran and carried off the clothes of the two gentlemen, and kept them hid for a considerable time. As the British were observed not to enjoy these sallies of wit, they considered them as raw and outlandish people, whom, however, they liked, and undertook to polish. In a remoter district still, Smith found only cottages scattered at several miles' distance; miserable hovels, where even the hospitality usually characteristic of remote settlements was no longer found. They refused even the shelter of their roofs, intimating that

he must be a strange person who came there where nobody came. However, all pointed to a Mr Tyers, who received all sorts of singular persons, and, accordingly, this gentleman was found keeping a plentiful and hospitable table in the wilderness, and directing that all the few strangers who came within twenty miles should be sent to him as his guests. Still lower in the scale stood the back-woods rifleman, who had ranked himself as a semi-Indian, wearing only a large hunting-shirt like a waggoner's frock, leather breeches made of elk-skins dressed by the Indians, Indian boots, or leggings of coarse woollen cloth.* By his side hung the tomahawk, serving every purpose of defence or convenience,—a hammer at one end and a sharp hatchet at the other; a bag and powder-horn carved with whimsical devices, which, with the fringes on his shirt, formed all his armament. Thus accoutred, the rifle procured him food, the tomahawk cut his wigwam, he wandered without a guide through the boundless forest, and was independent of every human being.

Travelling and its accommodations in such a society were naturally in a very rude and imperfect state. The only paths through the woods were those which were called *blazed*, being formed by notches cut in a tree at every thirty or forty yards, and renewed from time to time; while a larger notch every mile indicated that distance. The economy of inns was very ill understood even in the most advanced districts.

* Smith, 178-82.

No distinction, even in the towns, was known of hotel, tavern, or ordinary,—one house sufficed for every purpose. In the country, the innkeepers, though sometimes men of property, usually followed some other calling, and made their inn only a secondary concern. A separate bed, and sheets not previously used, were not considered as accommodations with which it behoved the traveller to be furnished. On some of the outer borders the accommodation was truly miserable. The Marquis de Chastellux came to an inn kept by a miller, in which the only food consisted of cakes, to be baked after their arrival, while the only liquor was drawn from the stream by which the mill was turned. At a Mrs Tease's, the marquis found no vessel capable of containing liquid, except a solitary tin bowl, which thus necessarily served every purpose of drinking and washing, both to the family and to strangers; and, at night, what was his horror at having it presented to him for a purpose which he dares not to name. Near Halifax, Mr Smith found a landlady six feet two inches high, and of such extraordinary powers of frame that she had worsted the most potent bruisers and boxers for fifty miles round. Mr Smith was careful not to dispute her reckoning, though it was somewhat exorbitant, being instructed that in such a case she was wont to make proof of her prowess on the persons of her customers.*

On other occasions, however, the taverns were kept by persons in a higher rank of life than is usual else-

* Rochef. 105. Chastellux, ii. 76-80. Smith, i. 111.

where. Chastellux, in the interior of Virginia, on being shown into his bed-room, was surprised to find a magnificent harpsichord, with a guitar, belonging to the young lady of the house, who performed with skill on these instruments. Many innkeepers, from the information which they obtained, and the extensive acquaintances they formed, were enabled to take a prominent part in the revolution. Sumner and Weeden, from this rank, rose to be generals, and made a considerable figure in the war of independence. At the termination of hostilities, several majors, and even colonels, scrupled not to resume their place at the bar of the tavern. One innkeeper exhibited to Chastellux a piece of his skull as a trophy of his exploits and sufferings in the cause of liberty.

The hostility between the different parties during this eventful struggle was, as in every such instance, very furious and imbittered. Smith tells a most doleful tale of the persecutions which he endured, as being from the first a declared and determined loyalist. He was early proclaimed "an enemy to the Americans," in virtue of which every man could sue him for debt and damage, and he could sue nobody. He became thus, as it were, a proscribed man, interdicted from all the ordinary business of life. As he persisted in his contumacy, a warrant was issued to apprehend him. He fled into the back territory, and took refuge in the extensive swamp called "the great dismal," the whole of which lay under a depth of from two to six feet of water, with the exception of some ridges covered with so dark and thick a vegetation

that the earth beneath could not be perceived. Emerging from this dreary refuge, he made his way down to the coast, and had an interview at Norfolk with the Earl of Dunmore, who there commanded his majesty's forces. Here he undertook to guide Colonel Connolly into the interior, and assist him in endeavouring to call out a loyalist force. He led him up the Potowmack, through a cultivated and thickly-settled country, where he was well known, yet without being discovered. They were already among the mountains, when they met a little hatter who knew Colonel Connolly, and by whose information they were pursued and overtaken. The Germans, who had occupied all this territory, and were admitted to be an industrious and improving race, but without any idea of the gentle and social virtues, were enthusiasts in the cause of liberty, and treated him with the utmost rigour. The party were confined in an upper room, exposed to constant insult, and in dread if not danger of their lives. At the end of six weeks it was announced that they were to go to Philadelphia; but Smith, looking with extreme dread to this removal, had been maturing plans of escape. The night before they were to set out, he caught a moment when the sentinels had fallen asleep, and made off along with one Barclay, whom he had prevailed upon to accompany him. He formed the daring project, in the depth of winter, of traversing the Alleghany and the whole range of the back-settlements, to reach the English posts on Lake Ontario. He had to wander through a region almost pathless, buried in deep snow, which fell

thick over his head, wading through creeks encumbered with ice, sleeping under rocks or in the hollow of trees, and finding only, at vast distances, some coarse refreshment or a fire to dry himself. Here too he was obliged to hear and join in the most violent abuse against himself, and to show implicit credence in the most absurd reports of what he had done against the American cause. Fatigue, cold, and exhaustion had nearly deprived him of the use of his limbs, when he came in view of those tremendous chasms by which the Potowmack pours its mighty torrents from the bosom of the Alleghany. As he was preparing to scale this formidable ridge, his companion deserted and robbed him, and he was left with a scanty remnant both of money and clothes. His resolution, however, did not forsake him; and, climbing these icy steeps in two days, wading through many dangerous water-courses, and finding rest only at one solitary hovel, he reached the opposite side, and seemed now to have only a portion of the great western plain to cross; when, in this moment of hoped deliverance, he suddenly encountered the party which had passed him in pursuit, and gone on to Pittsburg, whence they were returning in despair when they exultingly beheld him. He represents his treatment now as barbarous and insulting in the extreme. They placed him on a wooden pack-saddle, tying his feet below the horse, on whose neck they placed little bells instead of a bridle. In this state they drove the animal for nearly three hundred miles across the steep and slippery precipices of the Alleghany; allowing the rider

scarcely any food or refreshment. He firmly believes that they abstained from killing him only because they would thus have lost the reward offered by the Congress for his person. He was then carried to Philadelphia, where he was thrown into a damp cell of the house where the female convicts were confined. This gloomy dungeon, the rattling of the massy keys, the creaking of the numerous iron doors, and the screams of the unhappy damsels, nearly broke his spirits, while his health also seriously suffered. The members of Congress to whom he obtained access, behaved to him politely, but did not procure any alleviation of his sufferings. Congress, mean time, alarmed by the advance of the British army through the Jerseys, determined upon withdrawing to Baltimore, and carried their prisoners along with them. At Baltimore, and generally throughout Maryland, Smith found a much more friendly disposition; and, notwithstanding all the strictness of government, he contrived to escape on board a vessel in the Chesapeake. Though disappointed of meeting an English ship in the bay, he succeeded in reaching some friendly districts, and at length arrived at New York, then in the possession of the British.

The severities and insults now recorded are stated by Smith to have been equally suffered by all who were suspected of any attachment to the cause of England. Even Chastellux,* with all his French

* ii. 265.

feelings, was astonished at the violence of that enmity which the Americans displayed against the British name. They were even mortified at the idea of speaking the language of those whom they deemed their oppressors; they studiously called it the American, and at one time, it is said, seriously started the idea of changing it, and in its stead adopting the Hebrew.

CHAPTER X.

SETTLEMENT OF THE WESTERN TERRITORY.

Difficulties of crossing the Alleghany.—Daniel Boon.—Kentucky —Henderson.—Smith.—Dreadful Wars with the Indians.— Settlement and Progress of Kentucky and Tennessee.—Of Ohio. —Indiana.—Illinois.—Michigan.—Mississippi.—Alabama.

THE steep and continuous, though not extremely lofty range of the Alleghany, drawn like a belt along the whole back frontier of the eastern states, was long for them the boundary, not only of settlement, but even of knowledge and ideas, respecting the American continent. The discoveries which the French, from Canada and Louisiana, made of the regions on the Mississippi, sufficiently showed that the limited breadth which the first discoverers had assigned to it was wholly inadequate. It was long, probably, before they suspected the magnitude of what lay between these two grand lines of mountain and river;—that they enclosed a valley the most fertile, the most extensive, and the most finely-watered, that exists perhaps on the face of the globe. It was

obvious, however, that on that side there must lie vast regions, to the possession of which the States, according to European ideas, had a natural claim. As, therefore, the eastern territory became comparatively filled up, and the spirit of emigration and enterprise was more and more kindled, their eyes were turned in that direction. The approach of this region, however, was so arduous, and a settlement in it beset with so many dangers, that only a few of the most ardent spirits attempted for some time to break through these barriers.

Daniel Boon, at first a farmer and a hunter, afterwards a colonel, had the merit of first penetrating into, and exploring Kentucky. On the 1st May, 1769, he set out with five companions from his farm on the Yadkin, in North Carolina. He encountered very rugged roads, and very boisterous weather, in passing the mountain wilderness, till, on the 7th of June, he found himself on the banks of the Red River, flowing westward towards the Mississippi. Ascending an eminence, he saw, spread before him, the vast and beautiful forest-plain of Kentucky. Plunging into the bosom of this fruitful wilderness, he found it peopled with numberless wild animals, particularly buffaloes, in vast droves, which roamed over the plains, fearless of man, with whom they were yet unacquainted. The gun therefore afforded to the party an easy and ample subsistence. The forests presented a beautiful variety of scenery, being sometimes diversified with fruit-trees, partly in blossom, partly in bearing, and also with flowering shrubs. The Indians, however, were already in wait

to attack them. That race seem to have felt an instinctive conviction, that the moment in which Europeans should fix their foot on the west of the Alleghany would be fatal to the name and existence of the Red nations; they placed themselves from the first, therefore, in open war. As Boon, and a companion of the name of Stewart, were rambling, a party of Indians rushed out from a cane-brake and made them prisoners. They experienced great cruelty, and expected more; but Boon, always on the watch, caught a moment when the enemy lay buried in deep slumber, touched his companion, and they made their escape. He had soon after the satisfaction of meeting his brother, who had come across the mountains in search of him. They spent a considerable time in roaming this vast country, where there was not a white man but themselves, exposed to continual danger, but finding delight in this wild independence. At length Boon determined to remove his abode and family to this favourite region, and in September, 1773, having sold his farm and its appendages, he broke up from his establishment on the Yadkin. He was accompanied with five other families, and forty persons more joined them on the road. In their passage over the mountains, however, they were attacked by a body of Indians, who killed six of the party, one of whom was Boon's eldest son.

Kentucky began now to draw the attention of government. General Dunmore, governor of Virginia, appointed several officers to make a complete survey of the country, and engaged Boon to accom-

pany them and serve as a guide. He accordingly completed, along with them, in sixty-two days, a tour of eight hundred miles, which enabled them to form a more complete idea than before of the extent and position of this fine tract of territory.

Soon after a colonial undertaking was formed on a greater scale. Nathaniel Henderson, born of poor parents, grew up without being able to write or read; but, having afterwards supplied all these early deficiencies, he raised himself by his talents and eloquence to the first eminence at the bar. He was even appointed a judge; but his bold and restless genius struck out another path to prosperity. He conveyed across the Alleghany ten waggons, loaded with coarse woollens, spirits, toys, and trinkets, and having, with the aid of Boon, convened a meeting of the Cherokees at Wataga, in March, 1775, he concluded with them, for these valuable considerations, a treaty, by which they ceded a hundred square miles of territory on the Kentucky and Ohio,—a tract equal to any in the universe for beauty and fertility.* An old Cherokee, however, closed the transaction, by saying, "Brother, we have given you a *fine* land, but you will have trouble in settling it." Henderson now vacated his seat on the bench, and commenced a planter, or rather a sovereign and legislator. By gifts of fine land, on the most liberal terms, he attracted settlers from all parts of America, composed a new code of laws expressly for them, and adminis-

* Smith, i. 126. Imlay, 334-5.

tered the government without reference to any authority higher than his own. The whole of this course, however, was considered absolutely inconsistent with the duties which he owed as a British subject. The purchase of lands, and much more of a kingdom, from the Indians, had been absolutely prohibited, without the concurrence of the governors and provincial assemblies. His proceedings were disallowed, he himself outlawed, rewards offered for his apprehension, and all persons prohibited from joining him. But the warrants of government could not yet be executed on the banks of the Ohio; the Indians having concluded the sale, made a point of honour to maintain him in it, and his domain was continually filled with fresh emigrants.

Mr Smith heard so much of this establishment, that he determined to cross the Alleghany, for the express purpose of viewing it. He provided himself with a back-woodsman as his servant, with rifles and ammunition to bring down the game, blankets to cover them while they slept in the woods, and bells fastened to their horses' necks, as a means of finding them after they had been turned out to feed. One day of very difficult travelling, through a rough country, crossed by several deep water-courses, brought him to the foot of the great eminence, not very elegantly called the Wart Mountain. This had been described to him as the point in all America which commanded the most magnificent and extensive view. He accordingly spent a laborious day in ascending it, and employs a chapter to describe, in somewhat inflated terms, the emotions with which

the view inspired him. Yet the objects comprised in it are not very distinctly marked. It appears to comprehend a very extraordinary extent of mountain scenery, of which the most characteristic feature is, that the spectator, placed at the dividing point of this mighty ridge, sees the early course of all the great rivers which flow on one side to the Atlantic, and on the other to the Mississippi. They are seen variously rolling in deep glens, or bursting impetuously over rocks and through awful chasms and ravines. Not a glimpse is caught of the far-distant plains on either side; nor does there appear, in all the immense circuit, a trace of human art or existence.

From the foot of this mountain there were still eight or ten days of very hard travelling, till, after crossing many successive ridges, Smith came to the last and most lofty of all the Alleghanies. This ridge, called the Ousiotto, afforded on one side a vast view over the mountain region which they had passed. It was now, however, with much greater pleasure that he beheld on the other side an entirely new scene, a boundless champaign, covered with magnificent forests, and intersected with prodigious rivers, which all directed their course towards the mighty Ohio. Through a break in the woods there was even descried a portion of its vast waters, rolling in distant and solemn majesty. The party now descended rapidly into this great plain, which, though from above it appeared almost level like the ocean, was soon found to be broken and obstructed by numerous water-courses. However, they soon got into the great Indian war-path, and found little difficulty

in descending the banks of the Kentucky, forming a range of four or five hundred miles of territory, scarcely equalled in the universe for natural fertility and the abundance of every species of production.

The settlement had made some progress, and Henderson showed considerable talent both as a planter and legislator; yet was not Smith much edified by the demeanour of these sons of the wilderness. There was no idea of subordination, respect, or any distinction between man and man, except that of the weak and the strong, or the fatal difference between white and black. He found himself treated with coarse familiarity by the meanest and most vulgar of this infant society. However, he admits that they were an open, hospitable, hardy, enterprising race; they had abundance of shrewd sense, and something bold and spirited, which made their conversation agreeable; they were strangers to meanness and cowardice in every form: those faults were still confined to the eastern side of the mountains. Sensible of the many causes which rendered their tranquillity precarious, they had studied to give a strong defensive character to their position. They had made their log-houses tenable against small arms, and had erected three stockaded forts; but both the structure and position of these indicated the total want of military eye and discernment. The entire want of subordination was also here an evil of the first magnitude. It was impossible in these forts to say who commanded or who obeyed; the defenders consisted of a mere tumultuous rabble. This was an evil that scarcely admitted of remedy; but Mr Smith endeavour-

ed to show them the error of their positions, and to point out others that were much stronger and more defensible.

This region began now to be traversed in every direction. Mr Henderson was visited by two gentlemen who had embarked at Pittsburg to sail down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans. They had an agreeable voyage, navigating the river during the day and sleeping on shore at night. New Orleans and the settlements on the Lower Mississippi contained already twelve thousand families, mostly French, who were in deep dismay at being transferred, as they had just been, to the domination of Spain, which was already employed in imposing pernicious restraints on their commerce.

The system of colonization of the western territory was thus put fairly in train, and seemed likely to advance with rapid steps; but it encountered a dreadful check from the war which immediately ensued between the colonies and the mother country. The English government, by a policy which has been the subject of much discussion, allied itself with the Indians; and that fierce people were fired with the hope that they might finally cut off all that part of "the long knife," as they termed it, which had reached beyond the Alleghany. They immediately began their desolating system of warfare. Although they did not at first directly attack Colonel Boon in his fort at Boonsborough, they hovered round the settlement, shot the husbandman as he was busy at his plough, and destroyed most of the cattle. They even carried off, near the fort, a daughter of Colonel Boon,

and one of Colonel Calaway's; but the colonel pursued and recovered the young ladies. As their numbers increased, they made bolder advances, and closely invested the forts. Boon himself, sallying out for the purpose of obtaining provisions, was surrounded by a large body of Indians and made prisoner. He secured, however, an honourable capitulation, which was observed, and by his address he so insinuated himself into their favour, that he was adopted as a son. The only occasion on which his favour was shaken, was when he shot or hunted better than themselves. It behoved him therefore to lower his exploits in these respects, that they might be brought below the level of those of his Indian protectors. He was carried by them a great distance, first to Detroit, and then to Old Chelicothe. Here, however, seeing 400 Indians painted and armed for an attack upon Boonsborough, he thought it was high time to be gone, if possible. He stole off, and, travelling 160 miles in four days with only a single meal, reached his fort. The Indians appeared in a few weeks with 400 men, and invested it; but, not being skilful in this species of warfare, they were repulsed even by the small body of men enclosed within it, and soon obliged to raise the siege. They gained, however, many advantages, and even cut off several stations; and Colonel Boon, with some other officers, having collected 176 men, and rashly attacked their main body, much superior in number, near the Blue Licks, was completely defeated, with the loss of his son and all the principal officers.

The termination of the war for the independence

of America, and even, before its termination, the depressed state of the British interests in that quarter, had a disastrous influence on the cause of the Indians. They were obliged, in consequence, to renounce all that region to the south of the Ohio which forms Kentucky, and to leave it open to American emigration and settlement. The fertility of the country, superior to that of any of the formerly settled States, the pride of landed property, and the spirit of enterprise kindled by the late contest, united to impel the Americans into this path of adventure. A tide of population began to flow across the Alleghany, which, amounting sometimes to twenty thousand in the year, produced a growth the most rapid, perhaps, that ever took place in any society. In 1782, there was only a handful of people; in 1790, these had increased to 73,000; in 1800, to 220,000; in 1820, to 564,000, exceeding the population of Massachussetts. In the first enthusiasm of emigration, many finding obstacles in disposing of their property, are said to have abandoned it altogether, rather than delay in proceeding to their new possessions. Yet the difficulties which the route presented were still considerable. The Alleghany was to be crossed at one of its most steep and formidable points, over which no route had yet been formed that was passable for carriage or waggon of any description; and the emigrants were obliged to make this difficult journey either on foot or on horseback. They were still, besides, exposed to danger from the Indians, who, though unable to make head in open combat, carried on a series of desultory and destructive attacks. With

a view to this danger, Blockhouse, on the western side of the mountains, was made a place of rendezvous where the emigrants remained, till a caravan had been formed, which appeared strong enough to venture across the wilderness of a hundred and thirty miles, which still intervened till they arrived at Crab Orchard, the first inhabited spot in Kentucky. Unfortunately the business of disposing of lands was not yet reduced to a system; neither the description nor the mode of conveyance was sufficiently accurate; and in many cases gross impositions were practised. Mere ideal lots of 50 to 100,000 acres were sold in Europe, and even in some of the great towns of the United States. The consequence was, that the titles of Kentucky are in general exceedingly vague, and subjected to conflicting claims, which can only be settled by the fatal remedy of lawsuit. The only check which the States could contrive was to ordain that the old claimant, who ejects the present possessor, shall repay to him all that he has expended in bringing it under cultivation,—a penalty which, joined to the previous lawsuit, proves often a sufficient bar to the enforcement even of a legal right. Kentucky, till 1792, continued to be considered as Virginia; but it was by that time so great and so detached from its parent state, that its claims to a separate political existence were admitted by Congress, and it received a constitution and assembly of its own.

Kentucky was found to be bounded on the south by a long and lofty branch of the Alleghany, called the Cumberland or the Laurel Mountains; and so

long as fertile and unoccupied land continued to be in abundance, no attempt was made to penetrate beyond this barrier. When, however, the crowds which came yearly over the mountains, found all the best districts already filled, they began to look to the other side of the Laurel chain; and about 1789 a brisk movement took place in that direction. They found a soil, which, if not quite so deep as in Kentucky, was highly favourable to vegetation, and was watered by a magnificent river tributary to the Ohio. Here too, however, it was necessary to travel in caravans, in order to guard against the attacks of the fierce Cherokees. A bloody war was to be maintained with that great Indian tribe, who were at last partly subdued and partly conciliated. Tennessee, which in 1790 was not thought worthy of being numbered, in 1800 contained a population of 105,000, and in 1820, by a still more rapid progress than Kentucky, it had risen to 422,000.

After the settlement of Kentucky and Tennessee, a vast range of territory, extending for twelve hundred miles along the north of the Ohio, remained still in the undisturbed possession of its savage natives. The districts bordering on Pennsylvania and Canada were a debateable ground between the French and English, and were occupied only by military posts belonging to these great nations. The most important of these was Fort Duquesne, which, when acquired by England in the war of 1756, was transformed into Pittsburg. After the peace of 1763 had confirmed all these regions to Britain, its government, by a somewhat capricious regulation, prohibited the

formation of settlements upon any waters, except those which flowed into the Atlantic. The tempting aspect and luxuriant fertility of the plain of the Ohio attracted emigrants in spite of every obstacle; but the hostility of the Indians, to which they were thus exposed without any protection, rendered their situation extremely precarious. It became still more formidable during the war of independence, when these fierce tribes were supported by British aid. It was not till the year 1788 that the Ohio Company, from New England, formed a settlement, on a considerable scale, at Marietta, about the mouth of the Muskingum. They were still harassed, however, by the hostility of the Indians, which broke out repeatedly into open war, till, in 1795, a pacification was effected at a congress held at Greenville; and the United States began on a great scale the system of purchase, which has since been carried to a vast extent. The Wyandots, Delawares, Pottawatomies, Kickapoos, Piankashaws, Miamis, and several other Indian tribes, received the value of 20,000 dollars in manufactured goods, accompanied with an obligation on the part of the United States to deliver to them annually the value of 9500 dollars; in return for which they ceded the most valuable of the lands on the north bank of the Ohio to its junction with the Great Miami. In this transaction the nations of the west sold, like Esau, their birthright and their home for a miserable return; yet, when we reflect that, by this process, vast regions that were now a wilderness were to be converted into the abode of populous and civilized nations, and that it was a process so much milder than that by which the

same end had been often effected, we feel very little inclined to criticise it with severity.

The American States having thus secured the peaceable disposal of a great extent of rich territory, soon adopted a more systematic mode of distribution, which at once secured the titles of the proprietors, and brought an ample supply of funds into the treasury. It was partitioned into townships, or spaces extending six miles in every direction. These townships, by intersecting lines, were subdivided into sections of 640 acres, and these into quarter-sections of 160 acres. The lands were put up in quarter-sections, at the minimum rate of two dollars an acre, to be repaid in the course of five years. Reservations were made for the erection of schools and seminaries of learning.

As soon as this arrangement was made, and the fertile territory of Ohio fully laid open, an influx began, still more rapid than that which had poured across the Alleghany into the southern settlements. The eastern States, becoming yearly more densely peopled, gave out a greater surplus of emigrants; while, in the old world, the united pressures of difficulty and of political discontent impelled increasing crowds to seek refuge, or better fortunes, across the Atlantic. The route was now across Pennsylvania, from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, and being less rugged than the northern one by Virginia, it became soon the most common one even to Kentucky. Mr Birkbeck gives a lively picture of a scene which presented itself on this great highway of emigration. "Old America," says he, "seems to be breaking up, and moving west-

ward. We are seldom out of sight as we travel on this grand track, towards the Ohio, of family groups, behind and before us, some with a view to a particular spot, close to a brother perhaps, or a friend, who has gone before and reported well of them. Many, like ourselves, when they arrive in the wilderness, will find no lodge prepared for them. A small waggon, so light that you may almost carry it, yet strong enough to bear a good load of bedding, utensils, and provisions, and to sustain marvellous shocks in its passage over these rocky heights, with two small horses and a cow or two, comprises their all, except a little store of hard-earned cash for the land-office of the district, where they may obtain a title for as many acres as they possess half-dollars, being one-fourth of the purchase-money. The waggon has a tilt or cover, made of a sheet, or perhaps a blanket. The family are seen before, behind, or within the vehicle, according to the road or weather, or perhaps the spirits of the party. The New-Englanders, they say, may be known by the cheerful air of the women, advancing in front of the vehicle; the Jersey people by their being fixed steadily within it; whilst the Pennsylvanians creep lingering behind, as though regretting the homes they had left. A cart and single horse frequently afford the means of transfer, sometimes a horse and packsaddle. Often the back of the poor pilgrim bears all his effects, and his wife follows barefooted, bending under the hopes of the family.

"To give an idea of the internal movements of this vast hive, about 12,000 waggons passed between Bal-

timore and Philadelphia in the course of the last year (1817), with from four to six horses, carrying from 35 to 40 cwt. The cost of carriage is about seven dollars from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, and the money paid for the conveyance of goods on this road exceeds £300,000 sterling. Add to these the numerous stages, loaded to the utmost, and the innumerable travellers on horseback, on foot, and on light waggons, and you have before you a scene of bustle and business, extending over a space of three hundred miles, which is truly wonderful."

Through the movements now described, Ohio, which, in 1787, did not number 5000 inhabitants, contained, in 1802, the number of 60,000; upon attaining which it was admitted to form a constitution for itself. Its increase became now still more wonderful. After eight years, in 1810, it had grown to 220,000; in 1820, to 581,000. Since that time the population has been ascertained to amount to nearly 800,000, and it is not doubted that the census of 1830 will give a million.

Ohio being thus rapidly filled up, the best of its lands and situations were now occupied, and the bold enterprise of the American emigrant pushed him forward into new regions, where greater choice might be found. By the treaty of 1795, the Americans had obtained some tracts beyond the Miami. In 1804, 1805, and 1809, fresh treaties conveyed over to them the best of the lands between that river and the Wabash, the lowest and largest tributary of the Ohio. This was erected into a territory under the name of Indiana, and the population was not thought

worthy of being numbered in 1805, which in 1820 had risen to 147,000. In 1816, Indiana was admitted to the privileges of a state-government, and allowed to frame a constitution for itself.

By a similar process was formed *Illinois*, composing the region included between the Wabash and the great tributary of the Mississippi, bearing the name of the Illinois, which it derived from a distinguished nation of Indian warriors, who had long inhabited its banks. Large purchases, in 1804 and 1805, were made from the Sacks, Foxes, and Piankashaws; to which were added others in 1816 from more northern tribes. Illinois, in 1820, contained 55,000, and had in 1818 been admitted to the privileges of a state-government.

There were some daring spirits who sought to range even beyond these limits. To the north of all these settlements, in an angle enclosed between the lakes Michigan and Huron, is a large expanse of territory, in which the French had established the forts of Detroit and Mahimillimae, the principal seats of the Canadian fur-trade. Here the Americans made purchases of five millions of acres, and in 1805 a government was established; but the grand movement being to the westward, the increase of *Michigan* was not very rapid, and in 1820 it did not contain quite nine thousand inhabitants. The *north-west territory* forms a wide region between the Canadian lakes on the east and the Mississippi on the west, and extends to the northern boundary of the United States. It belongs to them, so far as relates to any other state of European origin; but scarcely as re-

spects the Indians, who remain still in the undisputed possession of this vast domain. If a few posts have been established for the fur-trade, most of them belong to the north-west company at Montreal. Though this tract does not want some fertile and agreeable spots, the general rigour of the climate will probably render it among the last to which emigrants, who have such ample choice elsewhere, will think of resorting.

The acquisition of *Louisiana* afforded to the States an opportunity of framing some new and important settlements to the east of the *Mississippi*. To the first was given simply the name of that great river, which it has for its boundary along a line of 572 miles. From the reports of the travellers who merely sailed up and down that river, and observed its flat, sandy, and inundated banks, some prejudice was felt against it. But when the interior districts, particularly on the banks of the long parallel stream of the Yazoo, came to be surveyed, they were judged to be almost the garden of North America. The valuable productions of the tropical and temperate climates are here afforded in equal abundance. It is fitted, above all, for the culture of maize and cotton and the rearing of cattle. Amid the present ardent spirit of emigration, therefore, it could not fail to be of speedy increase, and having, in 1820, reached a population of 75,000, had, in 1817, been admitted to the privileges of a separate State.

There remained still a large portion of Eastern Louisiana, having for its basis the varied and deeply-embayed coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and extending

northward along several great rivers which fall into it, till it comes to rest on the Tennessee. This, in 1800, was formed into a territory, which, from one of these rivers, was named *Alabama*. It is of very various character, the soil being in many places sandy and swampy, and the climate even of doubtful salubrity; but there are some spots of excessive fertility, which attracted the eyes of settlers from the Carolinas and Georgia, for whom this settlement lay exceedingly commodious. Thus, Alabama, in 1820, had reached a population of 128,000, a great proportion of which, however, unfortunately consisted of slaves.

The acquisition of Louisiana opened a still wider range of emigration and discovery in the immense regions comprehended between the Mississippi and the Pacific Ocean. An account, however, of the expeditions by which these were explored and surveyed must form the subject of a separate chapter.

CHAPTER XI.

DISCOVERIES IN THE REGIONS BEYOND THE MISSISSIPPI.

Acquisition of Louisiana.—Claim on the Countries West of the Mississippi.—Expeditions sent to explore them.—Pike to the Head of the Mississippi—To the Head of the Arkansaws.—His Disasters—Return.—Expedition of Lewis and Clarke.—They cross the Rocky Mountains—Reach the Pacific.—Long and James to the South of the Missouri.—Cass and Schoolcraft up the Mississippi.—Long and Keating to St Peter's River and the Lake of the Woods.

AN immense field had been opened to American discovery and enterprise in the wide and luxuriant plain which extends from the Alleghany to the Mississippi; but the arrangement which now took place afforded to it still more vast and almost unbounded scope. Louisiana, or the lower valley of the Mississippi, had been originally settled by France, not without continued remonstrances on the part of Spain, which viewed with jealousy a settlement thus interposed between her possessions of Florida and Mexico. At length, by the peace of 1763, this region was finally ceded by France; but England, as the fruit of this triumph-

ant war, obtained all the portion which was east of the Mississippi; while Spain had all that lay west of that grand boundary. The English part was transferred to the United States, in consequence of the successful struggle which terminated in their independence; while, in 1801, Spain was compelled, by the preponderant power of France, to cede her portion of it.* In 1804, Napoleon was tempted by pecuniary difficulties to the very unusual step of selling this territory to the United States for the sum of sixty millions of francs (£2,500,000 sterling). Some American statesmen censured this as an improvident bargain, being one which really pressed heavy on the limited finances of the state; but subsequent issues have shown that its benefits to them were quite incalculable. The prosperity of the western settlements, as they rose to their present amazing magnitude, essentially rested on having for their *débouché* the grand channel of the Mississippi. The Americans, however, had an ulterior and still mightier object. On the possession of Louisiana they founded a claim to these immense tracts, forming almost another world, which stretched westward from the Mississippi as far as the Pacific. The Indians might well have called on them to show by what law of nature, or what acquired right, a band of foreigners had thus become masters of this immense region, which had been held by their own ancestors from ages immemorial, and of which these new claimants knew not even the aspect or boundaries. It cannot, however, admit of a doubt, that the Americans, having removed European rivalry, will make good their claim to this coun-

try against every opposition which its savage and native possessors can make. Accordingly, it has already, in the great community of civilized nations, been recognized as theirs.

The Americans, having made this immense purchase, were not long in undertaking to survey the regions of which it consisted, and which were nearly as unknown as the most inland depths of Africa. A young and enterprising officer, Zabulon Montgomery Pike, was the first employed on this important mission. He was sent, on the 9th August, 1805, to explore the Upper Mississippi, and make a minute survey of all the interesting objects which its banks presented. He was especially instructed to inquire into the nature and extent of the fur-trade, with the residence and population of the several Indian nations, and to make every effort to conciliate their friendship.

Mr Pike in this expedition had with him a company of twenty men, in a boat about seventy feet long, furnished with four months' provisions. From Fort Louis to the confluence of the Missouri the current was rapid, but obstructed by sand-bars. Above, as described by former travellers, it became comparatively smooth and gentle, though at the mouth of the Illinois considerable agitation was occasioned by islands and sand-banks. Afterwards the river was bordered by fine cliffs, and through their skirts of forest extensive prairies might be discovered. On the 6th September he reached the mouth of the Ouiscousin, which had become a great rendezvous of the fur-trade from Canada. The village of Prairie des Chiens, on its eastern bank, was the scene of grand meetings,

in spring and autumn, between the traders and the Indians, and great fairs were held for the exchange of furs with European goods; but as, among the latter, brandy was the most sought and valued medium of traffic, very extensive disorders unavoidably ensued. The inhabitants were hospitable; but, by their extensive communication with the Indian squaws, had become half-Indian.

At Prairie des Chiens Major Pike obtained guides; and, after ascending to the mouth of the Towa, was met by a party of the Sioux Indians, with their chief. They assured him that they had kept themselves sober in order to receive him; yet this sobriety did not appear altogether complete. Their salutation, by firing a volley of musket-balls a good deal too close to their visitants, was found a little startling. However, all proved to be well-meant; the party were hospitably entertained, and the chief presented the sacred pipe, which, when shown to all the upper bands of Sioux, would serve as a letter of recommendation. They were entertained, by special favour, with a view of the great religious or medicine-dance. The chief feature was that of frequently running up to each other, and giving a puff through small skins held in their hands, when the person blown upon would fall, and appear almost lifeless, or in great agony, but would slowly rise, recover, and take his place in the dance. Afterwards in another village, where he was hospitably entertained, Mr Pike having alluded with some tenderness to a person from whom it was painful to him to be separated, the chief replied, that doubtless it must be very uncomfortable to be without a wife,

but he would soon remedy this evil, and would present him a choice, out of which he could not fail to satisfy himself. Pike having assured him that he considered it his duty to remain faithful to one wife, the chief said, that this was very strange, since not only he himself had three, but he knew American traders who had six in the course of a winter. Being assured that such conduct in the latter was condemned by all the more respectable part of their own countrymen, who made it a rule to have one wife only, the chief still declared his preference of the Indian system.

The banks of the river, from the Prairie des Chiens to the Chippeway, consisted in a great measure of hills, not running, as usual, parallel with the stream, but in an angular direction into the country, and separated by low valleys. This interchange of hills and valleys exhibited some of the most romantic and sublime views he had ever witnessed. They were sometimes interrupted by wide-extended prairies, resembling the lawns of civilized regions, and almost inducing the traveller to suppose himself in the heart of a highly-cultivated plantation. The Chippeway was a deep and majestic stream, but not nearly equal to the St Peter's, coming from the west; but the channel above the junction to the falls of St Anthony is one continued series of rapids, consisting of rocks in the bed of the river, and separated only by narrow passages. Above the falls the navigation became more and more difficult. They were obliged to quit their large boat, and proceed up in canoes. The season was now unfavourable, there being a great deficiency of water; in consequence of which they were

obliged sometimes to wade, sometimes to force the boats over rocks and shoals, and drag them through the precipitous current. The water would now be not a foot above the rocks, and the next step would be over their heads. At length, about two hundred and thirty miles above the falls, in lat. 45°, it became necessary to unload the boats and betake themselves to sledges, leaving the bulk of the provisions and stores in a log-fort, defended by a small detachment. The journey was very laborious, it being now the depth of winter, and they were often unable to make more than a few miles a-day. They in vain endeavoured to regale themselves by catching a few elks, though they saw once a body of a hundred and fifty marching like an Indian army in rank and file; but their swiftness eluded all pursuit. The mighty Mississippi was now dwindled into a small stream of three hundred yards broad, holding a slow course through a level country. In February they arrived at Leech Lake, which appeared to form the main source of the river. The winter was now so severe, that in crossing it several of the men had their ears, noses, and chins frozen; but they were hospitably received at a trading fort belonging to the North-west Company from Montreal. The American eye, however, was offended by the view of the British flag flying over ground indisputably belonging to the United States, and the British commander agreed to withdraw this obnoxious display. The party visited also Red Cedar Lake, whence another branch of the Mississippi, considered by some as the principal one, is derived. Here they found another fort of the North-

west Company, superintended by a Mr Grant. It appeared surprising that any men accustomed to the comforts of civilized life could be induced to spend their lives in this dreary solitude, where they lived only on preserved meat, and wild oats purchased from the neighbouring Indians; but they were amply supplied with every thing necessary to carry on their trade with vigour and success. An assembly of Indian chiefs was called, and an invitation given to them to accompany the expedition on a visit to General Wilkinson at Fort Louis. Two of them, entitled the Buck and Beau, the latter brother to Flat-Nose, readily consented.

Mr Pike, having accomplished his object, now proceeded to descend the river, which, being a mere reversal of his course upwards, could present little of novelty. On the 30th April he arrived at Fort Louis, after an absence of eight months and twenty-two days.

Lieutenant, now Major Pike, had scarcely arrived, when he was sent out on another exploratory expedition. The object was now, while Lewis and Clarke were proceeding on their grand voyage up the Missouri, to survey the regions to the south of that river, and particularly to trace the heads of the Arkansaw and the Red rivers, already known in their lower course as grand tributaries of the Mississippi. The party consisted of twenty-three, among whom were a surgeon and interpreter. They proceeded for some space along the Missouri, and, coming among a tribe who had recently lost several of their relations in war, received strong proofs of the relative attach-

ments which subsist among these savages. The relations began their lamentations in the morning, and continued them for about an hour, being joined by others, who, having long ago suffered similar losses, felt their wounds opened afresh. One would say, "My dear father exists no longer; have pity on me, thou Great Spirit! You see I cry for ever; dry my tears and give me comfort." But the warriors' songs were usually to the following tenor:—"Our enemies have slain my father; he is lost to me and his family. I pray to you, O Master of Life! to preserve me until I revenge his death, and then do with me as thou pleasest."

On the 26th they reached the Osage river, which from the south pours in a great mass of tributary waters into the Missouri. The country on this river was found one of the most beautiful that the eye ever beheld, having all the advantages of wood, water, gentle slopes, and luxuriant prairies, diversified by flowers and verdure. The Osage Indians were found to compose a sort of republic blended with oligarchy,—all measures being prepared and planned by a small body of chiefs, but requiring the assent of the council of warriors. They live in considerable abundance,—grain, beans, and pumpkins being cultivated; but, as usual, by the women only. Their board is profusely spread, and strangers are invited to it so hospitably that they cannot refuse without giving offence. Mr Pike was obliged to taste of fifteen different entertainments in the same afternoon. The restoration of the captives produced a striking display of natural tenderness, without any affectation of ex-

aggerated sensibility. Wives embraced their husbands, and parents their children; and all united in returning thanks to the Good Spirit, who had once more united them.

In passing from the Osage river to that of the Arkansaw, the travellers passed also the large rivers Kanses and Platte, on whose banks were the Pawnee Indians, a race scarcely differing from those just described. They found the Arkansaw a broad stream, and its banks might, they thought, be considered the paradise of the Indian hunter; buffalo, elk, and deer, roved in such vast herds, as might have fed the whole race of Indians for a century. From its junction with the Mississippi to its issue from the mountains the distance is 1981 miles; the whole of which, in spring, is navigable for boats; but in the dry season it is a complete sand-bar. In ascending the Arkansaw, they came in view of the grand western chain of mountains, rising before them like a white wall. Severe hardship was suffered in reaching the head of the Arkansaw. It was now winter, and not having been aware of the elevation of this spot, they were wholly unprepared for the inclemency of the elements arising from it. One mighty mountain particularly attracted their attention, which served as a land-mark to the savages for a hundred miles round, and appeared to them, though erroneously, a rival of Chimborazo. They attempted to ascend its sides, but were soon plunged to the middle in snow, and unable to proceed. They reached the head of the Arkansaw, which they found 192 miles above its issue from the mountains, making the entire course 2173. They were now,

however, reduced to a dreadful condition, being left, on one occasion, four days without food, the game being all under cover from the rigour of the season. Two of the men had their feet frozen, and were obliged to be left behind. Major Pike, however, pushed on in search of the Red River, which, from its course along the plain, ought, it appeared, to be the one immediately beyond. In this direction a large stream was accordingly found, and Major Pike, before beginning to descend it, erected a wooden fort, and sent back to collect his suffering stragglers. He was, however, altogether mistaken as to his position. The river was the Rio del Norte, which flows through the Spanish territory into the Gulf of Mexico, and he was already in the dominion of a people the most jealous of all others of foreign encroachment. Accordingly, as soon as Major Pike's position was learned, a party was despatched from Santa Fè, which made prisoners of all the Americans. Major P. instantly took down his flag, and professed the most perfect innocence of any design of violating the Spanish territory; he was told, however, that he must repair to Santa Fè. The party were treated on the road not only well, but with the greatest hospitality and humanity. The men would invite them into their houses, cause their daughters to dress their wounded feet, and give them the best bed. On arriving at Santa Fè, their military vanity was somewhat mortified by the appearance they made, with their clothes all in rags, and without a hat on their heads; and they found, in fact, that they were taken for a band of savages. Some of the common people even asked

if they had ever been in a house before, and if their tribe wore nothing on their heads. After their trunks had been searched, they were sent forward to the military commander at Chihuahua, in the province of New Biscay. At length, after a long route through the Spanish territory, Pike was allowed to proceed to the American frontier, and on the 1st of July arrived at Natchitoches, where, he says, "Language cannot express the gaiety of my heart when I once more beheld the standard of my country waving. All hail! cried I, the ever-sacred name of country, in which is embraced that of kindred, friends, and every other tie which is dear to the soul of man."

This expedition was only subordinate to another on a grander scale, and with a greater object, destined to cross the entire breadth of the continent, to penetrate into regions known hitherto only by the faintest rumour, and to reach the Pacific, the grand western boundary of America. Their first destination was to ascend to its source the Missouri, already known as the greatest tributary of the Mississippi, or rather as the primary river to which the Mississippi itself is subordinate. This expedition was planned by President Jefferson, a zealous promoter of interior discovery; and it was led by Captain Meriwether Lewis, his private secretary, and by Captain William Clarke, with a band of troops and attendants, amounting in all to forty-five; of which sixteen, however, were only to proceed to a certain distance. They had a keel-boat 55 feet long, accompanied by two open boats, called perioques.

On the 16th May, 1804, after a winter spent in preparation, they were afloat on the Missouri. Some miles up that river, the French had already founded the village of St Charles, still peopled by their nation to the number of 450,—a race uniting the careless gaiety and amiable hospitality of the best times in France, ready even to undertake long and laborious hunting excursions; yet, wanting that systematic and persevering industry which is necessary to the prosperity of a young colony. Farther up was found a remarkable cavern, 220 feet wide, which the traders called the Tavern, on which they had carved their names and drawn various figures; and considerable difficulty was then found in passing a series of rapids, called the Devil's Race-ground. At the mouth of the Osage Woman River is a settlement of thirty or forty families; and at the junction of Wood's River, nearly a hundred miles up, is La Charette, a little village, the highest white settlement on this river.

The Osage river is the first grand tributary. It runs west and south-west through a fertile country. The people of the same name, comprising three tribes, of upwards of twelve hundred warriors, appeared large and well-formed, but less warlike than the northern Indians, who have also the advantage over them of using the rifle. We need not dwell on the fantastic derivation of their race from the intermarriage of a snail and a beaver; as, unluckily, the high price which the skins of their mother now bear has diminished much of their filial veneration.

After passing a number of rivers and creeks, not designated by very poetical names, as Bigmuddy River, Littlemuddy River, Cupboard Creek, Good

Woman's River, Big Manitou Creek, Hay Cabin River, they came to the important tributary of the Kansas, flowing from the westward, and which, at the junction, is more than half the breadth of the Missouri. The Indians of the same name, on its banks, have been reduced to three hundred,—as, though equally fierce and warlike, they were unable to withstand the fire-arms with which their enemies, the Sauks and Ayauways have been supplied by the European traders.

In ascending, they passed the mouth of the Nemaha, not a large river, but rolling through most beautiful meadows, adorned with copses of fine fruit-trees, vines, cherries, and plums of species peculiar to America. Higher up they came to the great estuary of the Platte, coming from sources far in the west, and rolling a more rapid stream than the Missouri itself. This river is occupied by considerable tribes of Indians. The Pawnees ranked once among the most numerous of the Missouri races; and though they have suffered severely in their contests with the Indians of the west, they still count four considerable bands. The Ottoes, once their rivals, are now much reduced, and obliged to place themselves under their protection. Both these tribes cultivate the ground, and employ themselves only occasionally in hunting. The Kite Indians, farther to the west, are constantly on horseback, and are so named from the rapidity of their movements. They are the fiercest of all the Indians, never yielding in battle, or sparing their enemies; but this ferocity has called forth a dreadful

and just retaliation, which has reduced their numbers to a hundred.

Above the Platte, the Missouri became less rapid and more winding; and the scenery, consisting of a valley enclosed between two ranges of bold heights or bluffs, was extremely interesting. Here the Americans had a conference with fourteen of the Ottoe and Missouri Indians. The grand chief, indeed, whose name in English signifies Little Thief, was unfortunately absent; but Big Horse, White Horse, and Hospitality, held a most amicable conference, expressed their satisfaction with the change of government to the United States, and hoped their great father (the president) would send them arms for hunting and defence. The Missouri was found here to wind in an extraordinary manner. After sailing along it for twelve miles, Captain Clarke happened to go hunting, and having walked a quarter of a mile, came to the very point from which their progress had begun. The banks here consist entirely of sand and mud brought down by the stream, the loose texture of which accumulates, and either breaks down of itself, or is easily penetrated. It was not doubted, that the river would in due time force its way across this narrow neck, and leave the whole enclosed peninsula dry, or rather in a moist alluvial state. The portions of the bank thus continually falling in, being partly composed of cobalt and other minerals, formed a crust on the surface, by drinking which the party were afflicted with severe bowel and other complaints. They passed a rock peculiarly precious in the eyes of the natives, as af-

fording the red stone from which they make their pipes; and amid the deadly wars which rage among them, they have established it as a neutral and sacred ground, where every one may, unmolested, collect this precious substance. Another lofty mound, of which it was doubtful whether framed by nature or art, is viewed with sacred terror as the abode of a species of malignant fairies, a foot and a half high, and armed with sharp arrows, which they discharge against all who venture to approach their residence. Our travellers fearlessly ascended it, and enjoyed, unmolested, a magnificent view of the plain of the Missouri.

Near this spot, the Americans were visited by eight chiefs of the Ottoes and Missouris, among whom was now Little Thief, accompanied not only by Big Horse, but by Crow's Head, Black Cat, Big Ox, and Big Blue Eyes. With these worthies a very amicable council was held, concluded by a dram; and as they honestly confessed, that, in the present war, they had been themselves the aggressors, by stealing two horses and some corn, Captain Lewis more readily and hopefully undertook to mediate an accommodation. Higher up they learned that a large party of the Sioux were in the vicinity, and sent to them Sergeant Pryor, who was received in their very best style, a fat dog ready dressed being put down to him. Captain Lewis, on learning this reception, immediately set out for the Indian camp, and received their chiefs and warriors under a large oak, where he presented them with a flag, a medal, a certificate, with a string of wampum; and to the great chief a richly-laced uniform, cocked hat,

and red feather. They made long speeches, which did not do them particular honour, being a string of begging requests. They besought powder, ball, knives, clothes, but with particular earnestness a portion of their great father's milk, meaning the president of the United States, and his milk being their favourite and fatal brandy. Yet among this number were several belonging to tribes who had made and fulfilled the Spartan vow, never to retreat before any danger; and one of this race had carried it to so wild a height, that on crossing the Missouri upon the ice, having met a hole, he chose rather to perish than make a circuit to avoid it. In general, most of these tribes had a sad tale to tell of their former greatness, and of the humbled state to which they were now reduced. This was the result both of the constant and bloody contests in which they were engaged, and of the ravages caused by the first introduction of the small-pox. A tribe of the Mahas, who saw themselves wasting before this last evil, were worked up to such a pitch of frenzy, that they set fire to their village, killed many of their wives and children to save them from so dreadful a scourge, and set out for another country.

Proceeding upwards, they came to the Ricaras, a handsome and well-proportioned race, and in their behaviour somewhat more meritorious than those lately visited. Their chiefs, Lighting Crow and Eagle's Feather, declined the proffer of whisky, and expressed wonder that their great father should send them a liquor which made men fools. They received presents with thankfulness; but did not beg them in the importunate

style of the former Indians. This tribe pay a peculiar veneration to three figured stones in the midst of the river, believed by them to be the forms of two unfortunate lovers, with their faithful dog, who, finding their union prevented by the cruelty of parents, wandered, lamenting their fate, till they were converted into stone. Both they and the Sioux, however, exhibited the most dissolute conduct in regard to their females, offering and even pressing them upon the strangers, with whom we suspect they did not find a very unfavourable market.

One of the most remarkable features of the Missouri consists in what is called the Big Bend, where it performs a similar detour to that already described, on a greater scale, being thirty miles in circuit, while the two angles of the river approached within two thousand yards of each other. The isthmus, however, being composed of a ridge nearly two hundred feet high, sloping down to the plain which composes the peninsula, did not afford the same prospect of its ever being penetrated by the stream.

By the time the party reached the latitude of 47°, sixteen hundred miles above the Missouri junction, a cold wind blew from the north-west, ice began to form on the rivers, and all the symptoms of winter were thickening, They determined to build a fort, where they might spend the winter with some comfort, and be ready in the spring to start for the head of the Missouri and the passage of the Rocky Mountains. They called it Fort Mandan, from the Indian people, among whom they now were. They were soon waited upon by Big White, Little Raven,

Neighing Horse, and Bird's Tail, the great chiefs of the Mandans, on whom they bestowed the usual presents, and soon established an amicable intercourse. The Mandans had something peculiar in their religious ideas, or at least names. Their supreme deity is called indifferently the Great Spirit, or the Great Medicine; every thing wonderful is called medicine; and each warrior's guardian power, instead of his manitou, is here called his medicine. This struck the travellers as something very peculiar; but, in fact, among all savage tribes something supernatural is attached to the processes employed in the cure of disease; the priest and physician among them is one and the same character, and the remedies employed consist always of superstitious *formulæ*. There is a Medicine stone which is the great oracle of the Mandans. It is thick and porous, twenty feet round, with a smooth surface. Every spring a deputation of the chiefs of the nation visit and smoke solemnly before it; after which they retire to sleep in an adjoining wood; when in the morning the destinies of the nation are found expressed in mysterious white marks, "which those who made them are at no loss to decipher." The Mandans were as dissolute and as regardless of the virtue of their females as the nations lower down; and their dances, even of a religious character, were marked by the most flagrant indecency. Yet instances were not wanting in which jealousy displayed itself in its darkest furies. "One of the wives of the Borgne deserted him in favour of a man who had been her lover before the marriage, and who after some time left her, and she was ob-

liged to return to her father's house. As soon as he heard it, the Borgne walked there, and found her sitting near the fire; without noticing his wife he began to smoke with the father; when they were joined by the old men of the village, who, knowing his temper, had followed in hopes of appeasing him. He continued to smoke quietly with them, till, rising to return, he took his wife by the hair, led her as far as the door, and with a single stroke of his tomahawk put her to death before her father's eyes; then, turning fiercely upon the spectators, he said, 'that if any of her relations wished to avenge her, they might always find him at his lodge."'

On the 7th April the party broke up from Fort Mandan, thirty-two strong, in six canoes and two large perioques. On the 13th they passed the influx of the rapid stream of the Little Missouri, and on the 26th came to the much more important river of the Yellowstone, (Roche-Jaune of the French,) descending from the Black Mountains, and almost rivalling the Missouri itself. These two rivers rolled through wide plains, varied with wood, and animated by vast herds of buffalo, deer, elk, and antelope. The abundance of game was now most extraordinary. Buffaloes were seen to the number of three, and on some occasions even ten thousand at once. They were intermingled, however, with animals of a more formidable character, among which the brown bear was pre-eminently terrible. The great danger arose from his frightful tenacity of life; it was only when the ball went through the brain that there was the least chance of killing him by a single shot. In several

instances, even after repeated balls passed through the lungs, he continued still formidable. Captain Lewis had very nearly lost his life by one which had reached, unperceived, within twenty yards of him, while his rifle was unloaded. He escaped only by running waist-deep into the river, then turning and presenting his espontoon, when the animal was seized with a panic, and suddenly fled.

Continuing to ascend in an almost due westerly direction from the junction of the Yellowstone, the party came to two great channels, or forks, as the Americans call them, which involved the leaders in great perplexity. One flowed from the north and the other from the south, and they were unable to decide which was the real Missouri, by ascending which they would reach the head of the Columbia. The south branch was 372 yards broad, the north only 200; yet the latter was deeper and gave its colour and character to the Missouri. Its waters, like those of the main river, were thick, whitish-brown, and turbid, and ran in the same boiling and rolling manner which characterizes that river; while those of the south fork were perfectly smooth and transparent. The two heads of the expedition made separate journeys of two days, respectively, along the banks of each river, but without coming to any decisive feature. Almost all the party, swayed by the similar aspect of the two rivers, and by the authority of one Cruzatte, an old waterman on the Missouri, were of opinion that the north was the genuine fork. The two chiefs formed a different judgment, observing, that the southern branch was decidedly the

largest, and the very clearness of its current favoured the idea of its coming from a rocky and mountainous region. The opinion of the commanders prevailed, as of right; and the men, though not convinced, submitted with a good grace. The great falls of the Missouri were to afford the only sure test by which this doubtful question was to be solved. In search of these they formed a light exploratory expedition, depositing their heavy goods in a hole, or *cache*, as the French traders call it, floored with dry branches, covered with skins, and earth over them. In two days they came to a ridge, from the top of which they had a beautiful view of the Rocky Mountains, now completely covered with snow, and consisting of several ranges rising above each other, till the most distant mingled with the clouds. On the following day a sound was heard as of a distant waterfall, and spray driven before the wind rose high above the plain like a column of smoke. The sound, swelling as they approached, became at length too tremendous to be any thing but the great fall of the Missouri. Captain Lewis, hurrying impatiently over some rugged rocks which intervened, at length reached the centre, and enjoyed the sublime spectacle of this stupendous object, which since the creation had been lavishing its magnificence on the desert. The river here throws itself down a precipice of three hundred yards wide, for about a third of which breadth it falls in one smooth and unbroken sheet; but in the remaining part, being received upon some rugged and projecting rocks, it is broken into an immense mass of white foam, the spray of which is

thrown up in a thousand shapes, and sometimes forms columns of fifteen or twenty feet, on which the sun impresses the brightest colours of the rainbow. Captain Lewis, after bivouacking near the fall, proceeded next day to ascend the river, which formed for five miles a continued series of rapids, one of which was nineteen feet perpendicular, and so rugged and irregular as to be called the Crooked Falls. The river now took a bend to the north; in following which, Captain Lewis heard a loud roar, and, crossing the point of a hill, saw one of the most beautiful objects in nature,—the whole Missouri throwing itself down one shelving rock which runs across it, and dashing across the rocky bottom, whence it throws up a spray of the purest foam across the river.

The identity of the Missouri being thus established beyond all controversy, the expedition was immediately moved up the river. As the boats, however, could not be conveyed over the falls, eight canoes were constructed above, on board of which was placed the necessary stock of baggage and stores, the rest being lodged in a *cache*. The voyage was laborious, there being a rapid current against them, and the channel often obstructed by inlets and shallows. The first mountain ranges now hemmed in the river more closely, and often hung over it in perpendicular cliffs. It was not, however, till the 19th July that they came to the grand gates of the Rocky Mountains. Of all pass-scenery in the world this appears to be the most awful. The rocks, for upwards of five miles, rising perpendicularly from the water's edge, form a most sublime and extraordinary spec-

tacle. For three miles there is not a spot, except one of a few yards, on which a man can stand between the water and the perpendicular mountain-wall. The frowning darkness of these rocks projecting over the river, and menacing destruction to all beneath, appeared to the navigators truly awful. This river, here 350 yards in breadth, has evidently hewn its way through the mountain-mass, and the dreadful convulsion by which this must have been effected, is testified by the vast columns of rock torn from the mountain, and strewed on both sides of the river, trophies as it were of its victory.

The Missouri, at some distance above, was found separating into three branches, which, coming from the loftiest recesses of the rocky chain, united to form it. Being no longer fettered by the Indians in the composition of names, the Americans took the matter into their own hands, and applied to these forks those of three of their great statesmen, Jefferson, Madison, Gallatin; while to two tributaries they gave, not in the very best taste, the names of Philosophy and Philanthropy Rivers.

The movement of the canoes up the Jefferson being slow and laborious, Captain Lewis went forward on land to investigate the route. Continually ascending towards the most central recesses of the rocky mountains, he at last came to a point where a foot could be placed on each side; and one of the party, in a fit of enthusiasm, thanked God that he had lived to bestride the Missouri. Proceeding onward, they reached a small gap formed by high mountains on each side; from the foot of one of which welled out the spring-head of

this greatest river perhaps in the world, and whose channel for three thousand miles they had so laboriously ascended. "They had now reached the hidden sources of that river, which had never yet been seen by civilized man; and as they quenched their thirst at the chaste and icy fountain, as they sat down by the brink of that little rivulet, they felt themselves rewarded for all their labours and all their difficulties."

Having made this discovery, the party were not long of reaching the crest of this great rocky boundary, and their descent announced that they were coming within the domain of the Pacific. The object was to meet some of the Shoshonee or Snake Indians, who might serve as guides to the head of the Columbia, and afford various aids in the prosecution of the journey downwards to the ocean. The first whom they saw ran away, and could not be overtaken; but they succeeded in surprising two females. These poor creatures, accustomed to consider the name of stranger as synonymous with that of the direst enemy, seated themselves on the ground, and held down their heads, submissive to the fatal blow which they immediately expected. Captain Lewis took one of them by the hand, raised her up, presented some beads and pewter mirrors, and painted her cheeks with vermillion, the Shoshonee emblem of peace. They were soon re-assured, and undertook to show the way to the camp; on approaching which, sixty warriors were met, mounted, armed, and rushing forth in the attitude of repelling a hostile attack. Captain Lewis advanced with a flag, and the women going up to the

Indian chief, who was marching in front, explained to him that these were white men, who came with the most pacific professions, and she showed the presents received from them. They presently uttered vociferations of gladness and welcome, and their chief embraced Captain Lewis, who had the satisfaction of finding himself besmeared with paint and grease. They took off also their mocassins, understood to be a sacred pledge of sincerity, and to imprecate on themselves the misery of going for ever barefoot over these rugged mountain tracts, if they should break their engagement. The Americans then moved to the Indian camp, where a slight lodge had been fitted up for their reception. They were seated on green boughs and antelope-skins, and a space in the middle cleared of grass, on which a fire was kindled. The chief then took his pipe of transparent green-stone, lighted it, and having directed the stem three times towards the four cardinal points, took three whiffs, then presented it to Captain Lewis, and after him to the other white men. They had no food to give him except a cake made of berries, which, being seasoned by hunger, was found very acceptable.

Captain Lewis now proposed to the chief, that he, with a party of his men, and about thirty horses, should go to meet those ascending the Jefferson, and assist them in the conveyance of their luggage to the Columbia. The chief readily consented; but next day, when Captain Lewis was pressing their departure, he saw the Indians still hanging back and hesitating, and at last learned, that some one had surmised, that the white men were in league with their enemies, and

were drawing them into an ambuscade. Captain L. warmly remonstrated with the chief upon this suspicion, and by dropping a hint as to his courage, so worked upon him, that he declared to his countrymen his resolution to go, though destruction should be the consequence. Only eight or ten would accompany him on this perilous condition, the women crying and imploring the Great Spirit to protect their warriors; yet so inconstant is the will of savages, that, before evening, all the men, and a great proportion of the women, had joined the party. They were allured not only by the hope of a good market for their horses, but of seeing a black man with curled hair (negro), who accompanied the Americans. At every mysterious and unexpected incident, however, their alarms were renewed, and were raised to the highest pitch when they came to the appointed place, and no Americans had yet arrived. The two parties were now in a most uncomfortable state in relation to each other, till an Indian came running to tell that he saw the white men. Joy and confidence succeeded; and a most tender recognition took place between the captive female whom they brought with them, and her relations and intimates, though she learned with grief the death of several in her absence. Being brought into the tent to act as interpreter, she instantly, in the chief himself, recognized her brother, leaped into his arms, threw her blanket over him, and wept profusely. She began to interpret, but was continually bursting into tears, and unable to proceed.

The Americans had been making strict inquiry into the means of reaching the Columbia, and descending

that river to the ocean. The information obtained was by no means very satisfactory. There was no timber fit for the building of canoes, and, notwithstanding the extreme ruggedness of the country, they had no choice but to proceed on horseback. They were, moreover, forewarned, that the means of filling their stomach would be very scanty. The Indians, who wished to go to the buffalo country, were only induced to accompany them as guides by having their promise to that effect urged upon them in the most pointed manner. While the party were making preparations, Captain Clarke undertook a trial-expedition. He found the road excessively rough, strewed with rocks and large stones, over which it seemed absolutely impossible to ride; but the fine Indian horses, quite accustomed to these obstacles, carried him easily and swiftly over every difficulty. At length they came in view of a mountain, the loftiest yet seen, and were told, that its rocky sides hemmed in the river so close as to prevent all possibility of passing. It was necessary, therefore, to set out in a different and more northerly direction, by which they might reach the river below this obstruction. They had a very severe journey, and the Americans, though they could endure considerable hardship, were ill able to brook a privation of the first wants of nature, which, in the course of the journey, began to be experienced. Their first resource was to kill and eat the horses on which they rode, though rather too meagre for the purpose. They were next fain to purchase and dress the dogs which the natives kept for domestic purposes, though they themselves had so little idea of eating them, that

they called the strangers by the opprobrious name of dog-eaters; however, to our great surprise, they became rather fond of this food, and preferred it to pounded fish. At length they reached the lower course of the Lewis river, and found the Chopunnish, or Pierced-nose Indians, whose chief, the Twisted Hair, gave them a cordial reception, and assisted them in framing canoes. They came next to the Sokulks, a mild and peaceable people, who live in commodious houses of mat, and are well supplied with fishing implements, by means of which they secure a regular subsistence. The next tribe were the Pishquitpaws, who had never before seen white men, and in whom they excited considerable alarm. Just before Captain Clarke appeared, he had brought down with his gun a duck and a white crane; and the natives seeing these birds fall beside him, imagined he had fallen from the clouds along with them. This appeared more certain, when fire being wanting, he lighted his pipe with a burning-glass. It was a considerable time before they could be persuaded that the strangers were not supernatural beings, or, at least, not descended with evil intent.

The party was now in the Columbia, and saw in the west, at the distance of 150 miles, a very high mountain covered with snow, which, from its direction and appearance, was supposed to be the Mount St Helens, laid down by Vancouver as visible from the mouth of that river. In four days they came to the great falls. These, however, seem to be rather of the nature of rapids, being chiefly distinguished by the rocks and islands, which divide the river into a num-

ber of separate channels. The first descent being twenty feet high, they were obliged to haul the canoes over a neck of land. A mile below, the stream descended with great rapidity down a fall of eight feet. Here they merely carried the canoes to the bank, and let them down by ropes. This was the first pitch of the falls; next day they came to the second, which were rather narrows than falls. In approaching they saw a huge black rock, seeming to run from the right shore wholly across the river, and meet high hills on the opposite side, so as to make it appear mysterious how the water escaped. On the left side, however, a great roaring was heard; and on steering thither, there appeared a channel forty-five yards broad, through which the whole body of the Columbia forced its way. Driven into this narrow passage, it whirled and boiled in every part with the wildest agitation. Yet, as it appeared impossible to carry their canoes and baggage over these immense rocks, it was necessary to trust to their skill in steering; and they actually, to the utter astonishment of the Indians, passed through this perilous channel without any serious accident. A little below they came to another very bad rapid; but the shores being low, they were able to send round the heavy baggage and the men who could not swim. All these were only preliminary to the Great Narrows, which had been represented as the most perilous of all the passages. In fact, the channel for three miles was worn through a black rock 50 to 100 yards wide, in which the water swelled and boiled in a tremendous manner. They had now, however, gained both courage and experi-

ence, and by similar processes as before they made their way through. In passing downwards among the Skilloots and the Chillukittequaws, they observed figures of men rudely carved and painted, beside which hung the medicine-bag, containing roots, pounded dirt, and those other sacred objects which an Indian only can appreciate. They found reason, however, to believe, that these were not objects of worship, but merely ornaments; and, in fact, they were not now far from Nootka Sound, where the houses are ornamented in a similar manner on a much greater scale.

As they descended the Columbia, its channel gradually widened, till it attained a breadth of two miles, and even expanded into a species of bay filled with islands. Then having ascended a hill, and the fog which had involved the western horizon clearing up, they enjoyed the delightful prospect of the ocean;—that mighty ocean, the boundary of America and of American dominion, to reach which had been the object of all their labours, the ground of all their anxieties. This grand and cheering prospect, and the distant roar of the breakers, gave new life to all the travellers. Yet they had not reached the end of their troubles. They were tossed about for a fortnight in a sea which their frail canoes were ill able to sustain, and amid deluges of rain, before they could fix upon Meriwether Bay as a spot where they could securely establish themselves for the winter.

During this season the Americans held extensive communication with the Clatsops, the Chinnooks, and the Killamucks,—the chief Indian tribes who inhabit

around the mouth of the Columbia. The leading external feature in these, as in all the other tribes west of the mountains, is one produced entirely by art. This is the flattening of the forehead; and when this form is carried so far that a straight line runs from the top of the nose to the crown of the head, though so frightful in the eyes of a civilized spectator, it appears the perfection of beauty in those of a Chinnook. For this important purpose a compressing machine is applied to the head of the infant soon after its birth, which, operating gently and gradually, produces in about a year, without pain, a permanent impression. This deformity reigns in full sway among the tribes on the coast, and diminishes on approaching the mountain-boundary, which it never passes; and the eastern Indians designate by the appellation of Flat-heads those who dwell beyond the Rocky chain. Their dress consists chiefly of the skins, often rich and valuable, of the sea and land animals caught by them, mixed with some blankets of wool and mats made of grass. Their ornaments are wampum-collars of bears' claws, bracelets of copper and brass; but, above all, white and blue beads, which are worn in great profusion. Considerable skill is shown both in their fishing implements and in their canoes. One of the latter, though fashioned out of a single tree, contains thirty or even fifty persons, with large quantities of goods. They carry on even a sort of active commerce; an annual meeting being held at the falls, of all the nations, both above and below, to exchange the commodities of their respective districts. Their coast is even visited annually by merchant-vessels,

which might be supposed to be Russian; but a number of names were given, which appear to be English, and probably come, like Meares, from the British Indian possessions to this remote corner. By this channel they receive bad guns, brass and copper kettles, old sailors' clothes, blankets, knives, tobacco, and, most valueless and most prized of all, the white and blue beads, which form their most precious ornaments, and even their money. They carry on traffic in a manner very little creditable, asking, and even refusing at first, the most extravagant price for their goods, and often begging ultimately that they may be taken at a tenth part of this first demand. They are acute, inquisitive, and loquacious, finding a constant subject for conversation in every thing relating to the whites, as well as in the events, trade, and politics of the little but active circle of the Clatsops, Killamucks, Wahkiacums, and Chinnooks. They are unacquainted with any species of intoxicating liquors, though using tobacco to excess; and they are excessively addicted to gambling. The women are treated more on a level with the men than in other Indian tribes; but we are sorry to find that those depraved ideas on the subject of female virtue, which prevail in all the nations west of the Mississippi, exist in peculiar force here. They are carried into practice in the most grave and systematic manner, the husband proffering his wife and the parents their daughter, as the medium of trade, the return for presents, the reward of services. The travellers assure us that these tenders met a very cold reception from them, their virtue, it is admitted, being greatly fortified by the circumstance, that a

Clatsop young lady in full dress is nearly the most hideous object in existence. Her flattened forehead, her brown and pendent breasts, and the copious mixture of filth with her finery, served as an antidote to any irregular inclinations.

Having occupied so many of our pages in carrying this expedition out to the Pacific, we really cannot afford any more to bring them back by the very same route, with only a few deviations, and which could afford therefore no new observations of any great importance. On the 22d May, 1806, they arrived at Fort Louis, at the junction of the Mississippi and Missouri.

At the same time with this grand expedition across the continent, others on a smaller scale ascended several other western tributaries of the Mississippi. Mr Dunbar and Dr Hunter, from Natches, explored part of the Red River, and then its northern tributary, the Washita. They found the banks of the latter stream singularly fertile; it flowed with a clear and gentle current, and the water was perfectly fresh and agreeable, though there were a considerable number of salt springs on its banks. The Red River, on the contrary, as its name imports, was deeply discoloured with mud. Dr Sibley from Natchitoches, 250 miles from its mouth, ascended it to a considerable height, and collected much information concerning its upper districts. The navigation appeared to extend about fifteen hundred miles from its junction with the Mississippi, being interrupted only by rapids about 185 miles up, and more than 300 miles higher, by a much more singular obstacle, called the rafts.

These consist of masses of drift-wood, mixed with vegetable earth, which are carried down the stream, and wedged together till they are compacted into so solid a mass that trees grow over it, and it forms for fifty miles a sort of natural bridge, over which men and horses can often pass with safety.

The American government now rested for a considerable time from the work of discovery. At length, in 1819, a new zeal appears to have inspired them. Mr Calhoun, the minister at war, organized two expeditions, which might follow nearly in the traces of Pike, and complete what he had left unfinished. One of them proceeded westward to explore the regions south of the Missouri. It was fitted out on a large scale, provided with a geologist, botanist, assistant naturalist, and painter. It was commanded by Major Long, and the narrative has been written by Mr James, the botanist. A steam-packet, the Western Engineer, was prepared at Pittsburg, perhaps the first time that this important instrument of conveyance had been used for the purposes of discovery. The expedition sailed on the 5th May, 1819, and on the 30th entered the Mississippi. Having, however, to ascend the stream of that great and now rapid river, it did not reach St Louis, at the mouth of the Missouri, till the 9th June.

At St Louis, about a month was employed in preparations, and it was July before the Western Engineer was launched on the mighty waters of the Missouri. Mr Say, the geologist, went by land along the course of the river as far as Fort Osage, where he was joined by the steam-packet. Another party was now sent out to survey the country be-

tween the Kansas and the Platte; but they had scarcely passed the Kansas village, when they were set upon by a party of Pawnees, who plundered them, carried off their horses, and obliged them to return. Yet even here the rudiments of settlement were beginning to be formed. The human materials, indeed, consisted chiefly of squatters, back-wood men, and others, who fled before every approach of civilization and neighbourhood. Yet, even of such there had been located, at the junction of the Osage and Missouri, a town bearing the magnificent title of Missouriopolis, to which, perhaps, it is destined one day to correspond. Still higher up is Franklin, another infant city. At several points, and particularly before and after the confluence of Grand River, the steam-vessel had the greatest obstacles to encounter from the rapidity of the current and the numerous sand-bars. It worked its way across them, however; and on the 19th September, having passed the mouth of the Platte river, they arrived near the heights called Council Bluffs, where it was determined to make dispositions for passing the winter. Major Long set out for Washington, to receive farther instructions, and return in the ensuing spring.

The winter was calamitous. The camp was attacked by the scurvy, in its most malignant form; three hundred were ill of it, of whom it proved fatal to one hundred. Considering how completely, in situations much more unfavourable than the present, this dreadful scourge of distant and maritime expeditions has been overcome, it seems impossible to acquit the management of some failure in foresight

and activity. This dreadful malady arose from its common and well-known causes, want of fresh meat and vegetables, and we suspect, of sufficient exercise. It was entirely escaped by the hunters, who pursued their occupation at a distance from the camp.

Major Long returned on the 28th May, with instructions to ascend the Missouri no farther, but to explore the upper course of the Platte, which, notwithstanding its humble and prosaic name, pours in at the junction a mightier volume of waters than even the great river to which it is held as tributary. They accordingly abandoned their steam-boat, and having procured a due number of horses and mules, set forth on the 6th June upon this long land-expedition.

The Platte, in its early course, was found bordered by those large level tracts, covered with luxuriant grass, and scented with wild flowers, but destitute of timber, to which Americans give the appellation of prairie. In ascending, however, they came to that vast and naked plain, bearing almost an African aspect, which extends from the Gulf of Mexico to the borders of the Missouri, and is about 400 miles in breadth. The surface would be a dead level, were it not broken by deep ravines, sunk many hundred feet below the general level, and at the bottom of which meander some streams, skirted with a scanty and stunted growth of pine, red cedar, oak, and willow. The general surface is covered with a soil almost exclusively of sand, and produces no vegetation of any kind, except tufts of dry grass, and such gummy and saline plants as can draw subsistence from

513

the most arid soil. Among these are several species of the cactus, defended with such horrid and formidable spines, that scarcely any animal will attempt to penetrate the thickets of it, with which large tracts are covered. In many places there were traces of volcanic rocks, and smoke and flame might even be seen issuing from the ground with considerable noise; but none of these could be considered as forming a real volcano. Although the greater part of these plains presented no vestige of any thing living, yet, wherever there was any slight vegetation, large herds of wild animals were seen roaming, whose numbers increased as they ascended the river. Bisons, with their "unsightly figure, cumbrous gait, and impolitic movements," appeared on one occasion to the amount, it was believed, of ten thousand; horses of various size and colour scoured over the plains with surprising fleetness; the elegant and swift antelope, the neat and comfortable figure of that species of marmot which is here called the prairie-dog, the wolf, and the horrid and grizzly bear, made their frequent appearance. In the 102d degree of longitude they found the Platte divided into two forks, each about half a mile broad, of which they ascended the southern. The immense range of the Rocky Mountains now began dimly to appear, rising like a bounding cliff to the ocean of sand extending along its base. It was now remarked, that while the mornings and evenings were extremely hot and oppressive, about mid-day a cool and refreshing breeze sprung from the westward. This seems justly ascribed to the cold air of the mountains rush-

ing in upon the rarefied atmosphere of the plains. Though the thermometer seldom exceeded 80 degrees, the rays of the sun were burning, and very painful to the eyes. On the 6th July, about lat. 39° long. 105°, they reached the point where the Platte bursts out from the interior of its rocky valleys. The mountain face presented an almost perpendicular ridge or wall, from one to two hundred feet high, skirting the base of the chain like an immense rampart. Between this rampart and the main granite range was an interval of about a mile, studded with insulated columnar rocks, some of a snowy whiteness, rising like pyramids and obelisks from amid a number of mounds and hillocks, which seemed to be formed by the disintegration of similar masses.

Mr James, with a detachment of the expedition, now directed his course towards that loftiest peak which had so strongly attracted Major Pike's attention, and had been considered by him as a rival to the loftiest Cordillera. After clearing the sandstone boundary, they came to the first primitive range of coarse red granite, on which there grew only a few stunted trees, with some berries. The red cedar and pine were the trees which, in a dwarf state, reached the greatest elevation. The beauty of the Alpine plants excited their admiration, the colours, especially blue, being deeper and more brilliant than in ordinary situations. The summit, comprehending a naked plain of about ten acres, commanded a grand and extensive, but desolate prospect, consisting of vast ranges of snowy peaks, beneath which appeared the immense expanse of the desert, with

narrow lines of wood skirting the rivers, which occasionally glittered through them like silver. The mercury stood at 42°, when at the same hour it stood at 96° in the encampment below; and, having lost their way, they were obliged to spend the night on a part of the mountain where it fell to 38°. The position of this peak was found to have been very erroneously laid down, even in Mr Mellish's map published under authority of Congress. It was there fixed at 40° 42′ N. lat. and 107° 20′ W. long.; whereas it was found 38° 53′ N. lat. and 105° 52 W. long. No barometrical process seems to have been employed in ascertaining its height; but a trigonometrical measurement made at Boiling-Spring Creek, about 25 miles distant, gave 8507½ feet; and having estimated, or, perhaps, rather guessed the height of this encampment at 3000 feet above the sea, they made the entire elevation of the peak to be 11,500 feet. This boiling spring is a remarkable feature. It is a large and beautiful fountain, strongly impregnated with carbonic acid, and which has deposited carbonate of lime in such abundance, as to form a large basin capable of containing 300 or 400 gallons. The water is in a state of constant agitation, bubbling up from the bottom, and discharging every minute about 50 gallons of air and water, in equal quantities. It is clear, grateful to the taste, and produces an exhilarating effect.

As the expedition passed along the base of the Rocky Chain, and the head of the waters which it pours down to the Mississippi, they found only a continuation of the same naked and sandy plain

which they had passed in ascending the Platte. They suffered severely from want of provisions, from the brackish and muddy quality of the water, and from the heat, the thermometer ranging from 95° to 100°. They were annoyed moreover by various insect-tormentors; locusts filled the air with shrill and deafening cries; rattlesnakes and scolopendras crawled about on all sides; and in the room of mosquitoes, a species of wood-ticks inflicted large and painful swellings in the flesh. Large beds of salt here occurred, rendering all the waters of this region brackish, and scarcely potable, till they are mixed with those of their lower tributaries. In descending the rivers they divided, one party following the course of the Arkansaw, while the other meant to descend the Red River; but a fatality seemed to attend every effort to find that river from its head. In its stead they pitched on the Canadian, a southern tributary of the Arkansaw, into which it falls after a course of about a thousand miles. They were confirmed in this belief by a party of 250 Kaskaia, or Bad-hearted Indians, with whom they encountered. They were much dissatisfied with the conduct of these Indians, and especially with learning that they had never till now heard of such a people as their sovereigns of the United States. These Indians were well-formed, and managed their horses with great dexterity; but they were extremely filthy, and some mothers were seen giving suck to their children while both stood erect on the ground. Red Mouse, the chief, informed them that this was the Red River; but perhaps there might not be a very exact understanding on

either side of what the word meant. As the parties descended, the pasturage becoming more abundant, gave support to herds of wild animals, from which they derived a supply of food. It was not till they reached the mouth of the Canadian, and found themselves actually in the Arkansaw, that Major Long's party discovered the error under which they had all along laboured. Captain Bell, meantime, in descending the Arkansaw, met with a still more serious disaster. Four soldiers deserted, carrying with them a number of valuable articles, and several of the officers' journals. The most remarkable object discovered upon this river consisted in six chalybeate springs, of which one is so saturated with carbonic acid gas, and the other with sulphuretted hydrogen, that the smell was felt at a considerable distance.

The different parties rendezvoused at Port Smith, on the Mississippi, whence they proceeded to Washington. They brought with them sixty skins of new or rare animals, many thousand preserved insects, of which seven or eight hundred were believed to be new; an herbal of four or five hundred new plants; a great number of river and other shells, among which were found twenty new species; a hundred and twenty drawings of objects of natural history, and a hundred and fifty picturesque views.

Meantime another expedition under Governor Cass, for the narration of which we are indebted to Mr Schoolcraft, was exploring the Upper Mississippi. He proceeded first along the southern coast of Lake Superior, till he came to the bay at its extremity, which the French have called Fond de Lac. Thence

ascending the St Louis River, he came to that large assemblage of what in America may be called small lakes, from amid which the Mississippi derives its origin. The Red Cedar Lake was fixed upon as the original source, and was named Cassina, in compliment to General Cass; but as the branch from Leech Lake is admitted to have a longer course by sixty miles, we should be disposed with Pike to consider it as the principal. The height of this source was estimated at 1330 feet, which, allowing a course of 3000 miles, gives an average descent of only about five inches to the mile.

The Mississippi, for 230 miles of its early course, till it reaches the falls of Peckagama, is about eighty feet broad, flowing with a gentle current of a mile in the hour, and bordered by extensive savannahs, covered with rushes and other aquatic plants. While the party were sitting in their canoes, the rank growth of these plants completely hid from their view the adjoining forests, and they appeared to be lost in a boundless field of waving grass. The extreme monotony of the view was only relieved by the birds and waterfowl, which had chosen this region for their abode. A Frenchman, who had here located himself for the purpose of carrying on the fur-trade, was found reduced to a most calamitous situation. Being caught in a severe snow-storm, his feet were frozen in such a manner, that they dropped off on his return to his wigwam. In this helpless state he was for some time supported by an Indian wife whom he had married, but who then deserted him. For some months he had been fed only by the meagre

charity of the Indians, who threw into his hut some of the refuse of their victuals; and he was now reduced to the most debilitated and emaciated state. Governor Cass furnished him with food, and sent a guide with him to the nearest American factory.

Below the Falls of Peckagama the river presents altogether a changed aspect. Its breadth is now 300 feet, and continually increasing, and it flows at the rate of three miles an hour. The aquatic meadows disappear, and are succeeded by forests of elm, maple, ash, poplar, and, lower down, of black walnut and sycamore. These alternate with what Mr Schoolcraft calls the "dry prairies," of which he draws the most flattering picture, and where the profusion of wild flowers and the sweet-scented Indian grass fill the air with a refreshing fragrance, and delight the eye with the richness and variety of their colours. On these meadows also the buffalo, the moose-deer, and other animals, appear in great numbers. In the course of about 700 miles, the river, by the influx of numerous tributary streams, is widened to 800 feet before it precipitates itself down the falls of St Anthony; but in the course of this space thirty-five rapids and nineteen ripples occur to impede the navigation.

After the Falls of St Anthony, which throw themselves down a perpendicular height of forty feet, the river assumes again a new aspect. The prairies are broken and bordered by ranges of those variegated limestone hills which the Americans call Bluffs, and which rise to the height of between one and four hundred feet. These bluffs, now shooting into spiral

columns, now presenting the fantastic shape of antiquated battlements, and now stretching as far as the eye can reach in the form of a perpendicular wall, interspersed with valleys, prairies, and forests, gave an extraordinary grandeur and magnificence to the valley of the Upper Mississippi. Swelled now by numerous tributaries, particularly the St Peter's, St Croix, Towa, Chippeway, and Ouiscousin, it attains, at the junction with the latter, a breadth of two miles, and rolls southward to obtain still mightier accessions from the Illinois, the Ohio, and the Missouri.

The Mississippi had thus been pretty thoroughly surveyed; but there was still an outer range belonging to the United States, which remained for them a species of *terra incognita*. The most prominent feature here was the St Peter's, the greatest western tributary of the Mississippi above the Missouri, and which joins the former river immediately below the Falls of St Anthony. Mr Keating supposes it never to have been visited by any traveller, except Carver; but, as already stated, notwithstanding the scepticism of Charlevoix, I am persuaded that it was the same which Lahontan ascended, under the name of the Long River. No other could have afforded the length of course which he describes, nor the lake which he found at its head. From a contiguous source, another river, known under the name of the Red River, flowed in an opposite direction, northward into the frozen regions, and, after spreading into the large expanse of Lake Winnipeg, held on its course northward towards Hudson's Bay. The line of the 49th degree of latitude, which forms here the

northern boundary of the United States, was to be strictly surveyed, and every observation made which could throw light on this region and its inhabitants. In the expedition fitted out for this object, the command was again given to Major Long; while Mr Say was to be zoologist and antiquary, and Mr Keating mineralogist. The two latter were to make the general observations, and to draw up the narrative; but the services of Dr James, as botanist, could not be procured, in consequence of his accidental absence.

The expedition proceeded down to Wheiling, on the Ohio, whence they struck across the head of its tributary streams towards Lake Michigan. In this route they had opportunities of continually observing the Potowatomies, a leading Indian nation in this quarter. They presented the same qualities which characterize the other nations on the lakes. They display, it is said, many of the virtues and finer feelings which adorn mankind in all situations. Their careful tendance of the aged and of the permanently infirm forms a favourable contrast to the practice of those nations who, in such circumstances, abandon or consign to death their aged parents; this barbarous deed being observed among them only in a very few occasional instances. There is a still deeper blot, however, from which the North American nations have been generally believed to be free, but which Mr Keating considers as fixed upon the Potowatomies; not only that they treat their captives with the same frightful inhumanity as the other native tribes, but that they proceed often to the most revolting extremity, that of actually devouring their flesh. The travellers

admit that they have been asked whether they ever were present at such infamous orgies, and have been told, that nothing but ocular demonstration could amount to proof of a fact so horrible. To this it is answered, that the state of peace in which these nations then were afforded no room for such an exhibition; but the fact had been acknowledged by the Indians themselves, by those who had perpetrated the deed, by the interpreters and travellers who had long resided among them, who were connected with them by intermarriages, and were themselves partly Indians, and who declared that they had been present at the time it took place; that individuals could be named who became victims to it, and that names expressive of this custom are given to certain places by the Indians themselves; in short, that the most incredulous of the party were at length compelled to acknowledge that all doubt was removed from their minds. The allegations against the Sioux do not seem to be duly made out; but against the Potowatomies, Mianus, and Chippeways, it is considered as fully established. It is admitted, however, in many cases, to have sprung only from those dire extremities of hunger to which savages are liable, especially in these severe northern climates, where there can be no regular supply, even of the most coarse vegetable food, and the dependence is placed solely on the precarious product of the chase. In other cases, it seems to take place chiefly in a momentary paroxysm of fury, which prompts them, amid the process of torture, to cut out and devour portions from the flesh of the victim.

The party now passed Fourteen-mile Prairie, which was found to form the dividing ridge between the streams which fell into Lake Michigan and the Ohio. As it was intersected by marshes, boats could often in the wet season pass across to the heads of the opposite rivers. They turned aside to view the mission-house formed by Mr Cary, the great apostle of the Indians. It was now in the management of a Mr M'Coy, and appeared to be well conducted. About fifty acres had been cleared, and six log-houses built, one of which served as a school. The principle was to instruct the natives in the arts and knowledge of civilized life before attempting to initiate them in the mysteries of religion. The school was attended by from forty to sixty children, and there was an expectation of raising the number to a hundred. Many Indians, and particularly Ispaneba, their great chief, encouraged and visited the school. These good works, however, are much counteracted by the traders, not so much from their cheating the Indians, though they do so in the most unconscionable manner, as from the introduction of ardent spirits, which produce the most pernicious effects.

Lake Michigan, at which the party soon after arrived, presented a striking change from the green prairies, interchanged with swampy plains, through which they had lately passed. They found themselves on the shore of an ocean. To the north was nothing but a boundless expanse of water, then calm and unruffled like a sheet of ice. To the south the view is abruptly limited by a range of low sand-hills, crowned with a scanty growth of pine and furze, and

beyond which was a wooded plain extended. When the sun shone bright, its reflection from the sand and water was dazzling and painful to the eyes. The sand is loose, and appears to have been blown from the beach by the strong north-west winds which prevail in winter. The beach is strewed with fragments of granite and other primitive rocks, and the bed consists of an immense accumulation of sand and pebbles.

The party, in proceeding to the Mississippi, passed the Rock River, one of its secondary tributaries, which deserves that name only in the upper part of its course. Then a large tract, over which trees were thinly scattered, was followed by an almost boundless prairie, where there was not a tree. In approaching the Father of Waters, however, they found that bold interchange of hill, forest, and valley, which renders this the most sublime and beautiful part of its course. It is said, "the first day's voyage on the Mississippi is delightful to those who have never been on that river before. The magnificence of the scenery is such, its characters differ so widely from those of the landscapes which we are accustomed to behold in our tame regions; its features are so bold, so wild, so majestic, that they impart new sensations to the mind. The very rapidity of the stream, although it opposes our progress, delights us by conveying the idea of the extensive volume of water which this river carelessly rolls towards the ocean; while the immense number of islands which it embosoms contribute to the variety of the scenery."

We shall pass the voyage up the Mississippi till the party arrived at the mouth of the St Peter's,

where the real tract of discovery began. Here the Americans had, in 1819, at the junction of the two rivers, built Fort Anthony, in an elevated position, commanding both, and had surrounded it with a stone wall. Being commanded by a greater elevation within reach of cannon-shot, it is of no value in reference to an enemy provided with artillery, but is completely proof against an Indian foe. In this centre of the savage world the garrison enjoyed many of the comforts of civilized life. They had brought under cultivation upwards of two hundred acres, of which twenty being in gardens, supplied an abundance of wholesome vegetables.

The party now began to ascend the river, the banks of which were found to be low and covered with a fine rich vegetation; the immediate border was adorned with lofty trees, which did not extend far into the interior. The bluffs or heights, which bordered the Mississippi, gradually sunk, but reappeared thirty miles up, on a smaller scale. The tumuli, or artificial mounds, were numerous, and some of great extent. At the head of the river, after passing the *Lac qui Parle*, which has nothing appropriate to its name, they came to the long narrow expanse of Big-Stone Lake, which is in close contiguity with Lake Travers, out of which flows the great northern stream of the Red River. The entire course of the St Peter's is about 375 miles; but the navigation is attended with difficulties which it is thought can never be overcome.

The expedition now found themselves in the midst of that region of swamps and lakes out of which

flow all the mighty rivers that water this part of the continent. Those great head-waters of America present phenomena which illustrate the variety in which nature delights, and baffle all the theories which we have been accustomed to hold as to the early direction of river-courses. It is common for the great rivers of a continent, though flowing towards opposite oceans, to rise in the close vicinity of each other; but it is supposed to be always in a very elevated tract, and separated by a dividing ridge, which bars all communication between them. But the whole of this country is a dead swampy level, without ridge of any kind, and the heads of all the rivers have canals communicating with each other. Canoes pass from the St Lawrence to the Mississippi, and from the Mississippi to the Red River, with fewer obstacles than are encountered in the lower portions of each respective river.

We cannot here enter into the very extensive details given respecting the Sioux or Dacotas, who are not distinguished by any very remarkable features from the other Americans. The expedition now descended the important stream of the Red River, which they found throughout navigable for canoes of two tons burden, and visited the colonies of Pembina and Fort Douglas, founded there by Lord Selkirk. The climate, as compared with that of similar latitudes in other parts of the world, and especially of America, is remarkably favourable. Wheat, maize, and even tobacco, are grown with ease and of good quality. The great disadvantage of the colony seems to be the distance from any market, Pembina being 845

miles from York Fort, a very arduous route both by land and by sea, while it is 2800 miles from New Orleans, and 1900 from Baffalo. Till, therefore, the districts which can supply the same commodities, burdened with a much smaller land-carriage, are filled up, it does not appear that the remote settlement on the Red River can arrive at any magnitude. The population consists of a confused mixture of English, Scotch, French, Italians, Germans, Swiss, combined with Chippewas, Crees, Dacotas, and other Indian tribes; and the intercourse between these parties has given rise to a numerous body of the *Bois Brulé*, a swift, active, black-haired, olive-coloured, cunning and fierce race of mixed European and Indian extraction.

The termination of the Red River brought the mission into the great and winding expanse of Lake Winnipeg, called by the older travellers the Lake of the Assiniboins. It is about 280 miles long, and from 80 to 15 broad. Situated in the centre of America, it receives many of its largest streams, and perhaps no piece of water enjoys such an extensive canoe-communication. It holds a remarkable place in the geological structure of America, as forming the boundary between the primitive rocks on the east and the secondary on the west. Corresponding to this variety is the contrasted aspect of the shores; the western presenting vast prairies, variegated hills, and a fertile soil; while the other exhibits only a scene of austere and naked grandeur.

From Winnipeg Lake they began to ascend

Winnipeg River, which brought them back in the direction of Canada. The scenery on this river surpassed all that they had yet seen of the wild and the sublime. The rapidity and immense volume of the waters, the variety of form in the falls and cascades, and the singular wildness of the dark water-worn granite and primitive rocks which produce them, and whose dark and unchanging aspect contrasts with the continual movement and glitter of the waters;—these features give to the long series of Winnipeg Falls a picturesque effect, compared to which Nigara itself is uniform and monotonous. In what are accounted the lower falls, the river, being received into a basin enclosed by high rocks, assumes the character of a troubled ocean, dashing furiously against the surrounding shores and rocky islands. The upper falls, forming successive cascades of 10 or 15 feet, though not on a great scale, are also very picturesque.

Ascending the Winnipeg, the party came to the Lake of the Woods, an extensive piece of water, about three hundred miles in circumference. The scenery is wild and romantic in a high degree, the shores being faced by precipices crowned with thick foliage, and the surface studded with countless islands. The region, however, bordering on these waters is the most dreary that can be imagined. The climate is so rigorous, the surface so rugged, that it has never been claimed as a residence by man or beast. It is only occasionally that a moose-deer or bear is to be seen, or that a half-starved family of savages endeavour to

pick a scanty subsistence by fishing on some of the water-courses. They are often reduced, however, to dreadful extremities; and one woman was heard of who had killed and eaten her own husband and children.

From the Lake of the Woods the party proceeded by Rainy River to Rainy Lake, thence by Bad River to Lake La Croix, and afterwards through Cold Water, Muddy and White Fish Lakes, Cat's Tail River, Dog River and Lake, and the Kamenatekivaya River. The whole of this route to Lake Superior is a continued chaos of lakes, islands, and river-channels. There is thus a continuous navigation from that lake to the heads of all the great rivers, and even far into the most northerly region of America. But the accommodation thus afforded is greatly diminished by the immense number of portages, or obstructed points at which it is necessary to drag the canoes over land. Mr Keating enumerates no less than eighty-four between the Red River and Lake Superior. There is a fall on Dog River called Kakkabekka, which was considered to yield to Niagara in breadth only, not in volume of water, pomp of sound, and picturesque effect.

The boundary-line between Britain and the United States runs for some time along this range of waters as far as the Lake of the Woods, after which it cuts America in the mechanical section made by the 49th degree of latitude. This seems scarcely a fortunate arrangement, since it leaves no boundary, either of separation or defence, between these two great rival

possessions; whereas, by a very slight detour, the Winnipeg River and Lake, the Red River, and the Assiniboils, might have afforded a natural limit, stretching across a great part of the continent.

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